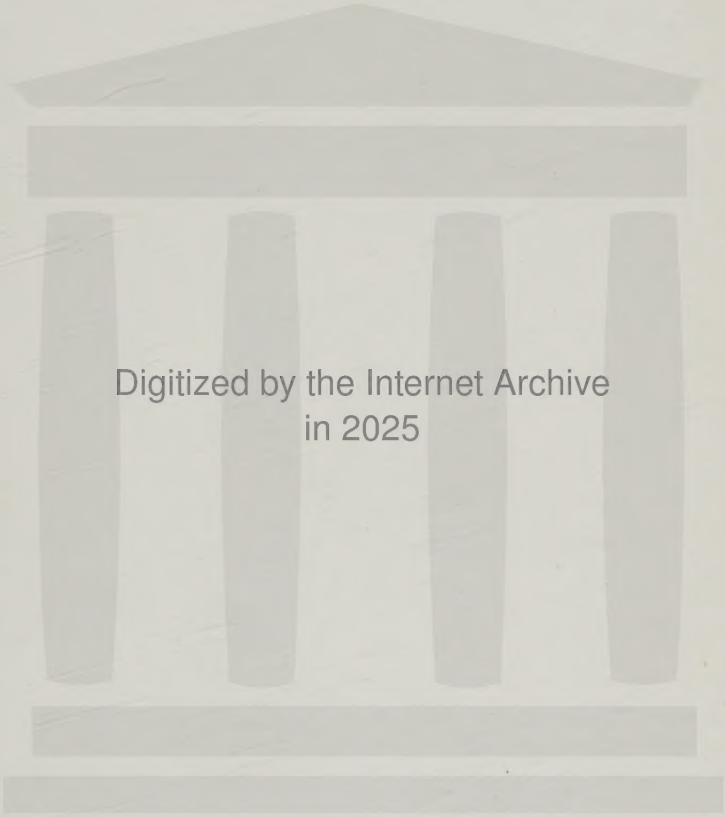
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SANCTI AMBROSII ORATIO DE OBITU THEODOSII

TEXT, TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE CATHOLIC SISTERS COLLEGE OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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TO MY MOTHER.

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PREFACE.

I propose to present in the following pages a text of the De Obitu Theodosii Oratio of St. Ambrose, together with a commentary in English, and general introduction. The works of St. Ambrose in the latest edition of Migne contain a large number of errors due to the careless setting up of the volumes which had been destroyed by fire. The Vienna Corpus thus far has not included the De Obitu Theodosii Oratio in its critical editions of St. Ambrose, accordingly the text of the Benedictines has been used with such revisions as the readings of the following manuscripts seemed to justify:

		Sigla
Paris 1686 vol. 1. Col. 1528 No. 113.	s. XII. (circa)	A.
Vat. Lat. 286-ff. 119-208-	- IX.	B.
——— 285— 114-121	- XI.	C.
——— 284— 131-138	- XV.	D.
——— 314— 239	a. 1439.	E.
Urb. Lat. 40— 81-85	s. XV.	F.
——— 42— 212-220	- XV.	G.

Thus far no worthy commentary on this work has appeared in any language, and no translation into English has been made. No apology need be offered for the attention devoted to this oration. Professor Bardenhewer says of it and its companion piece, the De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio: "Both of these discourses are held to be models of rhetorical composition and are likewise historical authorities of prime importance."[1]

Of the choice forced upon every translator, I have elected to follow St. Ambrose faithfully down to the last turn of his thought, and have departed from his actual phrasing only where the canons of readable English compelled this alternative. The notes of the commentary are mainly of an historical character. The Biblical quotations have in every case been compared with the Septuagint, the Itala, and the Vulgate versions, and the differences and simi-

[1] Cf. Bardenhewer-Shahan, 438.

larities noted. St. Ambrose, of course, could not have used the Vulgate. He might, however, as he himself has indicated have used the Itala or his own rendering into Latin of the Septuagint version. The introduction includes a short historical background with a discussion of a special topic of interest, the penance of Theodosius. It treats of important features of St. Ambrose's Latinity, and of his rhetorical excellence as exhibited in the De Obitu Theodosii Oratio.

In referring to the various periods of Latinity the following abbreviations will be used:

A. C. = ante-classical; P. C. = post-classical; l. c. = late-classical; class. = classical; eccl. = ecclesiastical; a. Aug. = ante-Augustine; p. Aug. = post-Augustine.

The author wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness and to express her sincere gratitude to Roy J. Deferrari, Ph. D., Chairman of the Greek and Latin Departments of the Catholic University of America, for his suggestion of the subject, and for constant aid and encouragement during its development. Thanks are also due to the Reverend Romanus Butin, S. M., Ph. D., and to J. Marshall Campbell, Ph. D., both of the Catholic University of America, for having read the manuscript, and for their helpful criticism.

To the Superiors and Sisters of her Congregation whose kindly interest has made possible the present work, the author expresses her sincere appreciation.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Dates	St. Ambrose.	Works of St. Ambrose.	Theodosius the Great.	Contemporaneous Events.
340?	Birth of Ambrose.			Death of Constantine II.
346				
347			Birth of Theodosius.	Birth of Chrysostom.
348			(about 346)	Birth of the poet Prudentius.
350				Death of Constans. Eastern and Western Empires united under Constantius. Constantius openly supports Arianism.
354	Death of the prefect Ambrosius. His family returns to Rome.			Birth of Augustine.
355				Pope Liberius exiled from Rome by Arians. Auxentius, Arian Bishop intruded into See of Milan.
360				Julian declared Augustus by army.
361				Civil war averted by death of Constantius. Failure of attempts to restore pagan religion.
363				Death of Julian. Accession of Jovian. Christianity declared the religion of the Empire.
364				Death of Jovian.
365				Valentinian I becomes Emperor of the West. Valens begins the struggle for supremacy in the East.
368	Ambrose admitted to the Council of Probus, Praetorian Prefect of Italy.		Theodosius accompanies an expedition to Britain.	
374	Ambrose appointed Consular governor of Liguria and Aemilia.		Theodosius defeats the Sarmatians at Moesia.	Death of Auxentius, Arian Bishop of Milan.
374	Ambrose elected Bishop of Milan. Baptized and consecrated by order of the Emperor Valentinian I.			
375	Ambrose opposes rigors of officials of the Emperor.	De Excessu fratris sui Satyri l. II.		Valentinian mitigates severity of laws.
		De Paradiso l. I 375/378		Death of Valentinian I.
		De Cain et Abel l. II. 375/378		Gratian and Valentinian II share Empire of the West.
376		Hymni (dates indefinite)	Father of Theodosius put to death by order of Valens.	Irruption of the Huns into Europe.
			Theodosius retires to estate in Spain.	Defeated Goths permitted by Valens to settle in Thrace.
377	Ambrose visits Rome. Opposes attempts of pagans to expel strangers from the city during a famine.	De Virginibus l. III.		
		De Viduis l. I.		
		De Virginitate l. I. (a little later than 377)		
378		De Noe l. I.	Theodosius summoned to aid Gratian against the Goths.	Balkan countries overrun by barbarian hordes. Gratian wins battle of Colmar. Battle of Adrianople. Death of Valens.

Dates	St. Ambrose.	Works of St. Ambrose.	Theodosius the Great.	Contemporaneous Events.
379	Influence of Ambrose creates intimate union of Church and State.	Epistulae. 379/396	Theodosius declared Emperor by Gratian.	Gratian interdicts heretical assemblies and preaching of false dogma.
			Theodosius crowned at Constantinople.	
	Ambrose opposes the Empress Justina at Sirmium.	De Fide l. V. 379/381		
380	Consecrates Anemius the orthodox bishop.	De Incarnationis dominicae sacramento l. I. 379/383	Theodosius baptized by Ascholius, Catholic bishop of Thessalonica. Theodosius gives churches of Constantinople to orthodox Catholics. Theodosius concludes victorious peace with the Goths and allows them settlements. He persuades the Visigoth king Athanaric to enter the imperial service.	Gratian passes laws exempting or reducing taxes of clergy; exempting baptised women from appearing on the stage; liberating criminals at Christian festivals.
381	Ambrose conducts proceedings of Council of Aquileia. Arian bishops Palladius and Secundianus condemned.	De Sancto Spiritu l. III. De lapsu virginis consecratae (date uncertain, authenticity doubtful).	Theodosius summons Eastern bishops to a council at Constantinople. Errors of Apollinaris and Macedonius condemned.	Gregory of Naziansus appointed Bishop and Patriarch of Constantinople.
382	Ambrose attends Council held at Rome.			Council of Rome condemn errors of Apollinaris. Rehabilitates Pope Damasus. Gratian orders the removal of the altar of Victory from the Roman curia.
383	Ambrose undertakes embassy to Maximus. Symmachus denounces Ambrose as the most powerful adversary of paganism.	Apologia prophetae David 383/386-7 Apologia altera propheta David. 383/386-7 (unauthenticated). De Interpellatione Job et David l. IV.	The title of Augustus given to Arcadius. Theodosius acknowledges Maximus as joint Emperor of West.	Death of Gratian. Justina seeks protection of Ambrose for Valentinian II.
384	Ambrose prevents rehabilitation of the altar and cult of Victory at Rome.	De Paenitentia l. II. Enarrationes in XII Psalmos Davidicos. 384-5/397 De Sacramentis l. VI. (date uncertain, authenticity contested).		Valentinian opposes Senate on the question of pagan privileges. Symmachus sends Augustine to Milan.
385	Persecution of Ambrose by Justina and Valentinian. Ambrose refuses to give Portian Basilica to Arians.			
386	Ambrose opposes attempt of Justina to obtain Basilica Nova for Arians. Ambrose refuses to appear before Auxentius. The discovery of the bodies of SS. Gervase and Protase arrests the Arian persecution.	De Officiis Ministorum l. III. Sermo contra Auxentium de basilicis tradendis. Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam. 386/388		Valentinian passes decree for legal recognition of Arianism. Maximus threatens to march upon Milan.
387	Ambrose undertakes an embassy to Maximus. He refuses to hold communion with	De Helia et Ieiunio l. I. (after 386). De Nabuthae l. I. (date uncertain).	Tolerance of Theodosius in a revolt at Antioch.	Baptism of Augustine. Maximus invades Italy. Issues decree for the restoration of idols.

ates	St. Ambrose.	Works of St. Ambrose.	Theodosius the Great.	Contemporaneous Events.
	bishops who had secured the death of Priscillian.	De Tobia l. I. (date uncertain). De Mysteriis liber. De Excidio urbis Hierosolymitanae l. V. (date uncertain).		Valentinian and Justina flee to Theodosius.
38	Ambrose obtains a general amnesty from Theodosius. Ambrose protests against order of Theodosius for the rebuilding of a Jewish synagogue.	Expositio in Ps. CXVIII. (after 387).	Theodosius defeats Maximus. Becomes master of the Occident. Theodosius confers on Valentinian all the territory held by Valentinian I. Theodosius sends prefect through the Orient to abolish pagan worship.	Maximus put to death by the army. Justina dies in the East. Valentinian entrusts himself to Ambrose. Destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria.
39		De Abraham l. II. (after 388) De Isaac et Anima l. I. (after 388) De bono mortis l. I. (after 388)	Triumph of Theodosius at Rome.	Pagan temples are closed at Rome. Idolatrous worship abolished.
90		De Jacob et vita beata l. II. (after 388) De Joseph patriarcha, l. I. (after 388) De benedictionibus patriarcharum l. II. (after 388) De Hexaemeron l. VI. (after 388)	Theodosius orders massacre of the Thessalonicans. Public penance of Theodosius.	
91			Theodosius refuses request for restoration of the Altar of Victory.	
92	Ambrose's efforts toward peace of the Church at Antioch. Ambrose retires to Florence. Synod at Milan condemns Jovinian.	De Fuga Saeculi, l. I. (after 391) De Institutione Virginis, l. I. De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio.	All public heathen worship prohibited.	Murder of Valentinian. Eugenius usurps Empire of the West. Eugenius reestablishes altar of Victory at Rome.
93	Ambrose sends protest to Eugenius against re-establishment of idolatrous cults.	Exhortatio Virginitatis.		
94	Ambrose pleads for mercy for the vanquished.		Theodosius gives title of Augustus to his son Honorius. He marches to avenge Valentinian. Defeats Eugenius at Aquileia. Theodosius grants a general amnesty. Victory of Theodosius unites Eastern and Western Empire under one head.	Death of Eugenius and Arbogastes.
395		De Obitu Theodosii Oratio.	Death of Theodosius.	Arcadius and Honorius emperors. St. Augustine Bishop of Hippo. Huns invade the East. Alaric the Goth escapes from Stilicho.
396	Ambrose demands right of asylum for a man condemned to the beasts. Sends message to Frigitil, Queen of the Marcomanni.			
397	Death of Ambrose.			Simplician becomes Bishop of Milan.

INTRODUCTION.

A. The Occasion of the Eulogy.

The De Obitu Theodosii Oratio was delivered by St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, on February 25,[1] 395 the fortieth day after the death of the emperor, the occasion being the memorial service which was held before the departure of the funeral cortége for Constantinople.

The audience gathered in the Basilica was a cosmopolitan one—the newly appointed Emperor Honorius, a child of ten; Stilicho, his guardian and regent of the West; the army corps that had come out of the Orient for the last campaign of Theodosius; the Milanese, and that varied array of court officials and visitors that an imperial capitol is always entertaining—all these brought to this closing solemnity of a great career that wide-flung representation that an imperial requiem requires, and that multiplicity of numbers that a great orator compels.

The eulogy is the last of an interesting triad by St. Ambrose—the three oldest funeral orations of the Christian Occident,[2] the De Excessu Fratris Sui Satyri; the De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio, and the De Obitu Theodosii Oratio. They are not distinguished for their antiquity alone. Due especially to the character of the man who composed them, we have in these orations historical material of a value rare in the literary type to which they belong. Particularly valuable on this score is the last of the trio, inasmuch as it is a source containing much information not found elsewhere concerning the last of the great Roman Emperors.

In spontaneity the De Obitu Theodosii is the least of the three. The death of Satyrus, brother and comrade of Ambrose's boyhood days, comfort and support of his mature years, had indeed robbed the Bishop of "one half his soul"; and the wonder is not that

[1] The reckoning of the date of the funeral rites of the Emperor Theodosius as February 26 according to Tillemont, Mém. X. 769, and Guldenpenning, Kaiser Theodosius 232, is an error probably due to the neglect of including in this reckoning the day of his death. Cf. Rauschen 430, n. 5.

[2] Cf. Bardenhewer 3, 537.

Ambrose's lament at times should strain the very heart strings, but that the mourner could exercise that restraint which, as a whole, the oration exhibits. The eulogy for Valentinian was written as a consolation for that young Emperor's sisters, but recollections of a personal kind added to the speaker's pathos. Among these were the harrowing circumstances of the Emperor's last days, his longing for the arrival of Ambrose his friend and protector, and the Bishop's fatherly affection for the young man cut off in the flower of a youth which promised much for church and state. The death of Theodosius, in a sense, was premature, as his health seems to have been undermined by the hardships of that last campaign which saved the Roman State for Christianity;[3] but conflicting emotions conditioned the eloquence of his eulogist.

The element of personal grief, however, was by no means lacking. A loyal, manly friendship had existed betwen an emperor and a bishop, who working for a common cause, found their mutual aims and desires to be in complete harmony. The hand that lent itself so heartily to the upbuilding of the Christian State was the hand of Theodosius, but its chief impulse came from the brain of Ambrose. The Bishop knew that he could count on the unfailing support of his sovereign in all that concerned his pastoral work; he knew the high place he held in the Emperor's esteem. We may well believe that his *Dilexi virum*[4] was said in all sincerity, and that Theodosius was included in that company of loved ones among whom, in the words of the closing paragraph of the Valentinian oration, Ambrose prayed to pass his eternal life.[5] "O Lord since no one can ask for another more than he wishes for himself, do not separate me after death from those whom during life I have so much loved. O Lord I ask that where I am they may be together with me, that I may enjoy eternal union with them in the next world, as here I have had so little of their companionship."

For a full appreciation of the oration it must be looked at in its proper perspective. The task of the eulogist was not merely the preparation of a discourse polished and made perfect according to rhetorical canons; not the pandering to an age which delighted in art for the sake of that art's devices alone, and which applauded

[3] Cf. De Ob. Th. 10, note 6.
[4] De Ob. Th. 34, 35.
[5] De Ob. Val. Cons. 81.

the speaker's dexterity rather than the depth of his thought. Officially the task of Ambrose was the presentation of an emperor's panegyric. Personally it was much more. It implied, indeed, the giving to the dead the tribute customary to his rank; but it meant also the duty of reaching out to the living, and of offering to each group of the varied throng salutary nourishment for the soul. It was the concluding act of a friendship begun in harmony of purpose and sealed by the official clashes of its principals. The past rose up before Ambrose's mind as he touched on these varied relations giving the words of the panegyrist the pathos of a mourner.

But neither the present with its opportunity for instruction nor the past with its recollections tells the whole story. The threatening possibilities of the future hung over that funeral ceremony, adding still other notes to the complicated play of the orator's emotions.

The fate of the Empire become a Christian state now hung in the balance. The present solidarity was but a century removed from the times of Diocletian, but a generation older than the paganism of Julian. Idolatry even now was constantly trying to recuperate its failing strength. Foes more formidable because nominally Christian, threatened the Church from within. Barbarian hordes, incorporated within the Empire, threatened the Church from without, threatened the union of Church and State, and Church and State individually. The burden had been a crushing one, but the strength and courage of Theodosius had been capable of sustaining its weight. Suddenly that supporting hand had been withdrawn and the edifice of Ambrose's hopes and dreams seemed tottering to its fall. The unity of the Empire had been disrupted. To Arcadius a youth of eighteen had passed the Empire of the East, to Honorius the Empire of the West. Would the young rulers be worthy of the trust imposed upon them? Could they retain their hold upon subjects unaccustomed to that loyalty which forms so strong a bond in kingdoms imbued with the principles of hereditary succession? The fate of Gratian and the young Valentinian was not a guarantee for the fidelity of the subjects of the sons of Theodosius to the state, nor the experiences of Ambrose's own life for the fidelity of the imperial heirs to the Church. It was a solemn moment when Ambrose rose to speak.

This anxiety of Ambrose shows itself in his reiterated appeals to the army, in his reminding them of the victories of their chief,

and in exhortations that gratitude be shown to their dead leader, by their fidelity to his sons. It displays itself again, in the examples chosen from the Scriptures of long and prosperous reigns of two youthful kings of Israel. Then urged on by his desire of imparting a moral lesson, Ambrose develops at length an exposition of the virtues of Theodosius, choosing such as are profitable for imitation by the prince and his guardian, in whose hands the reins of government may well prove the deciding factor either for good or evil. Finally the pastor of souls looms up in the emphasis laid on the virtues which may be acquired by the humblest of his auditors. In this exposition Theodosius stands forth as the exemplar of all Christian rulers. He is shown as the guardian of the Church, distinguished for piety and zeal; as the refuge and father of the poor and erring, as magnanimous toward his enemies, faithful to his friends, and finally as the sinner, humbled, repentant and forgiven. As the climax of these virtues, Ambrose portrays Theodosius's deep and burning love of God, the source and motive power of all his good deeds, and now his sole claim to the eternal happiness of the saints.

B. Characteristics of Ambrose the Preacher.

Ambrose's method in the development of this sermon is characteristic of his method of Scriptural exegesis, which he developed with so great an ability that he became the model for the writers of the Western Church, from his own day until the close of the Middle Ages.

Raised unexpectedly from the office of proconsul to the dignity of Bishop of Milan, he had found himself wholly unprepared for the burden laid upon him. His heroic courage, however, aided him in this exigency. With an assiduity remarkable even in great men, he applied himself to a mastery of the Scriptures and the works of the Christian writers of the East, considering them best suited to be his masters in moral and dogmatic theology, seeking from them the weapons for his battle with heresy. For his polemics the three Cappadocians, especially Basil, were his chief reliance, while Philo and Origen were his masters in the exegetical art.

Every moment that could be snatched from his public duties was given to the task of preparation for them. St. Augustine,[6]

[6] Conf. 6, 3.

paints a most attractive picture of the manner in which this arduous work was accomplished. It shows us the ideal pastor, who, although weighed down by the burden of incessant duties, refused himself to none of his flock, in imitation of his master making himself all things to all men to gain all hearts for Christ. "He did not know my anxiety or my dangerous pitfalls, for I was not able to inquire from him what I wished, as I wished. A crowd of busy people whose infirmities he served, shut me off from his ear and lips, and when for very short intervals he was not occupied with them, either he refreshed his body with necessary food or his mind by reading. But whilst his eye skimmed the pages of which his heart interpreted the sense, his voice and tongue were silent. Often when I was present, for no one was hindered from entering nor was it customary to announce any one's arrival, thus did I see him reading silently, and never otherwise, and after sitting there during a long silence, for who would dare to intrude upon such preoccupation, I would withdraw, presuming that perhaps he would not wish to be diverted, in that short time afforded for the refreshment of his mind from the tumult of the affairs of others. But indeed no opportunity was given me of questioning as I desired Thy holy oracle in that heart of his except when something could be attended to briefly. Nevertheless my anxieties sought for a time of leisure to pour themselves out to him, but they never found it."

A remarkable power of assimilation enabled Ambrose to store his memory with that wealth of Biblical material upon which he drew so abundantly in all his writings. In none, perhaps, can we find better illustration of this practice of quoting the Scriptures than in the De Obitu Theodosii, which contains sixty-five direct and twenty-five indirect quotations. If at times these citations seem irrelevant or wearisome, their appreciation requires that we recall the motive which inspired them. We shall not find there the rhetorician's desire for eloquence gained by the well turned phrase, but rather the eagerness of a father's love seeking food and drink for the children of his heart. Ambrose knew no purer, higher well-spring for that nourishment than the Bible, the source of all that was beautiful and true in his philosophy of life. His Biblical interpretations furnished the keenest pleasure to his contemporaries, and we are told by the great Augustine [7] that not even an

[7] Cont. Jul. Pelag. 1, 30.

enemy dared censure Ambrose's faith in and clear understanding of the Scriptures.

His general practice in drawing from the Bible, was to quote at will without mention of the source, or by the use of some indefinite reference such as: *scriptum est; locuta est; Scriptura; habet Scriptura; ait Dominus; Dominus . . . dicens* etc. We find however an occasional reference that slightly limits the passage, such as *in libris Regnorum; Salomen ait; Psalmista dixit; in Evangelio; ideo Paulus* etc.

Of the ninety quotations contained in the present oration, sixty are from the Old Testament and thirty from the New, twenty of the latter being taken from St. Paul. It is not surprising to find Ambrose attracted to such a model. The virile independence of the Apostle of the Gentiles and his fearlessness in dealing with the great ones of this world are striking characteristics of the Bishop of Milan, whose zeal for the integrity of the Catholic faith never hesitated to brave the enmity of tyrants in high places. Thus when forced to choose between the friendship of the Emperor Valentinian and his mother Justina on the one hand and his Christian trust in guarding his basilicas on the other, his refusal to surrender even one of them for Arian worship rings true to the character of his whole episcopate. We may almost imagine that St. Paul is himself speaking, when we read the holy Bishop's stirring words of protest: *Absit a me ut tradam Christi haereditatem . . . Solvimus quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, et quae sunt Dei Deo. Tributum Caesaris est . . . Ecclesia Dei est, Caesari utique non debet addici, quia ius Caesaris esse non potest Dei templum.* Sermo Cont. Aux. 18 and 35. And again, *Tradere basilicam non possum, sed pugnare non debeo . . . atque utinam Deus avertat eos ab Ecclesia, in me omnia sua tela convertant, meo sanguine sitim suam expleant.*[8]

A comparison of the Biblical quotations of Ambrose with the Old Latin Versions of the Bible, shows that at times he quotes literally from that source, at times seems to adhere more closely to his Greek codex. As one would expect, his quotations from the Psalms and from the New Testament differ in no important respect from the rendering with which we are familiar in the Vulgate. That Ambrose used several versions of the Scripture is evi-

[8] Ep. 20, 22, 28.

dent from his own statements. Aside from frequent references throughout his works to passages from Symmachus and Theodotion, constant comparisons occur of Greek and Latin texts. The following will serve as illustrations: *Ideo et Matthaeus ait: Esto consentiens adversario etc.*: *εὐνοέων autem Graecus dixit, hoc est, benevolens.*[9] *Quod si quis de latinorum codicum varietate contendit quorum aliquos perfidi falsaverunt, graecos inspiciat codices, et advertat quia ibi scriptum est:* οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες.[10] *Non ergo aliqui addant: Domine ut psaltae faciunt, quod neque in latino codice inveni meo, neque in graeco, neque in Evangelio quod est evidentius.*[11] *Sed ego in graeco codice . . . legi.*[12] *quem graeci nonnulli codices, sed non omnes habent latini.*[13] The following is an interesting example because of its information regarding Ambrose's ignorance of Hebrew: *a saecula et in saeculum, fiat, fiat. In Hebraeo habetur Amen, Amen, ut adsuerunt qui librum legerunt in Hebraicis litteris scriptum. Graecus hoc loco γένοιτο, γένοιτο dixit, quod est; fiat, fiat. . . . Et videtur Hebraeus quidem sermo mutatus sed idem sensus expressus.* In Ps. 40, 36.

As a cursory survey of the works of our author supplies fifty references to his Greek text, many more would probably result from a careful investigation of his Biblical sources. In the present treatise, passages which Ambrose gives as direct quotations from the Scriptures are presented as such in the English translation. In the Latin text words that are actually used in any version are italicized, those not so found are left as ordinary text. Variations peculiar to the Old Versions which occur in the quotations of the present treatise as well as those due apparently to a Greek text or reliance upon memory are noted in the Commentary.

Scriptural references, whose frequent recurrence in other of Ambrose's writings suggest that they are favorites, appear in the De Obitu, also the names of his Old Testament heroes, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Joseph and Eliseus. The penitent David is not mentioned by name but is quoted. The name of Eve occurs in contrast to that of her liberator, the Blessed Virgin Mary. Ambrose[14] in speaking of the victory wrung from Satan by the Incarnation of the Word says: *vicit te Maria quae genuit triumphatorem*

[9] Exp. in Luc. 7, 153.
[10] De Sp. S. 2, 5, 46.
[11] De Inter. David, 2, 24.
[12] In Ps. 118, 17, 35.
[13] In Ps. 37, 58.
[14] De Ob. Th. 30.

quae sine imminutione virginitatis edidit eum, qui crucifixus vinceret te, et mortuus subjugaret. The foregoing passage is noteworthy as it shows that the Bishop of Milan, in common with all Catholics from the dawn of Christianity until the present day, gloried in his belief in the Virginity of the Mother of God, according to the prophecies: "Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign. Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son and his name shall be called Emmanuel." [15] · "The rod of Jesse hath blossomed, a virgin hath brought forth God and man." [16]

One of the most frequently recurring thoughts in the works of Ambrose is that man's soul is made to the image and likeness of God,[17] not as the flesh, formed from the slime of the earth. This passage occurs at least sixty times throughout his works. Constant insistence on this point may be due to a desire of refuting the Manichean heresy; for following the practice of other Christian writers of his age, Ambrose often combats error not by a direct attack upon it, but by bringing into prominence the Catholic doctrine which refutes that error. The only heretics mentioned by name in the De Obitu Theodosii are Arians and Photinians,[18] in a passage where the effect of their tenets is emphasized by means of contrast rather than by contradiction.

In speaking of the Bible Ambrose uses the word *Scriptura* or *lectio.* His only descriptive epithet in connection with these terms is *divina.* No example of antonomasia occurs in reference to God, but he uses it twice in speaking of the devil, who is called *adversarius* and *verus Golia.* When speaking of God Ambrose says: *Deus, Dominus, Dominus Deus, Dominus Jesus* and *Christus.*

Quotations are introduced by the present participle *dicens* or some such expression as *hoc est dicere, de quo scriptum est, ait, alibi habemus,* etc.

The oration may be said to center about Psalm 114 and to be a sort of exposition of it by its application, through a series of paraphrases, to the life of Theodosius.

[15] Isaias 7.
[16] Num. 17.
[17] De Ob. Th. 30.
[18] De Ob. Th. 49.

C. The Penance of Theodosius.

The public penance of the Emperor Theodosius forms an incident with such rare parallels in the history of the world, that it presents an alluring appeal to the dramatic instinct of the historian. That the appeal has not been disregarded is evident from the manner in which the story has come down to us, almost unchanged since the days when it passed from Sozomen and Theodoret to the writers of the Middle Ages, thence to the later historians, who seem to have accepted it without challenge as to the solidity of its foundation. The natural result has been that to the multitude the name of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, suggests but the thought of an arrogant churchman domineering over a much abused and long suffering emperor.

The fifteenth centenary of the death of St. Ambrose in 1897 called forth a notable demonstration in his honor, not the least part of which was the compilation of a valuable series of fourteen essays entitled Ambrosiana, with an introduction by Andrea Cardinal Ferrari, then Archbishop of Milan. Among these is an essay by the Bollandist Van Ortroy entitled "Les Vies Grecques de S. Ambroise et Leurs Sources," in which the author, subjecting the famous Theodosian incident to the "microscopic inspection" of modern historical research, attempts to verify details by an investigation of their sources, and to discredit all material which seems due to the imagination of unreliable historians.

In a second article, "Saint Ambroise et l'Empereur Théodose"[1] Van Ortroy deals with the same subject again by way of answering a criticism of his position, contributed by de Broglie to *Le Correspondant*.[2] The fact that this question is dwelt upon by Ambrose in the oration under consideration seems to make a review of these discussions desirable.

For a better understanding of the matter I shall give a brief synopsis of the incident, present the accounts as written by early Church historians, and state the testimony of Ambrose himself, a strictly contemporary witness.

The occasion which called forth the penance of Theodosius was a crime he had committed against the people of Thessalonica, a

[1] Cf. Bibliography.
[2] Cf. Bibliography.

city especially favored by the Emperor, as the place of his baptism. Botheric, one of his trusted generals and a close friend, was military governor of Thessalonica in the year 390. A certain charioteer had been imprisoned on a charge of immorality. When the day arrived for the public games the Governor refused to release this idol of the people. A tumult resulted in which Botheric and some of his aides were murdered.

The news of the outrage roused Theodosius to fury, and by his order a most inhuman punishment was inflicted upon the offending city. The inhabitants, summoned to the circus ostensibly for the games, were attacked by soldiers and massacred without discrimination of guilt or innocence, age or sex.

Existing historical accounts agree thus far as to the general circumstances of the affair. Paulinus, the secretary and biographer of Ambrose, and Augustine, who perhaps borrowed from Paulinus, say that when the news of the revolt at Thessalonica had reached Milan the bishops who were assembled there in council, had interceded for the guilty and had obtained a promise of mercy from the Emperor. St. Augustine [3] states: *cui iam episcopis intercedentibus promiserat indulgentiam.* Paulinus [4] says: *promiserat enim illi (Ambrosio) imperator se veniam daturum civibus supradictae civitatis.*

Though the general experience of Ambrose makes such a promise of leniency most probable, his own testimony seems to deny that in the present instance he was able to influence the Emperor toward clemency. Shortly after the news of the outrage reached Milan, Ambrose [5] writes thus to Theodosius: *Factum est in urbe Thessalonicensum quod nulla memoria habet, quod revocare non potui, ne fieret: immo quod ante atrocissimum fore dixi, cum toties rogarem: et quod ipse sero revocando grave factum putasti.* This letter further insists upon the grievousness of the crime, the horror with which the news of it was received, the scandal given, and urges, by the memory of the edification of the Emperor's hitherto virtuous life, that he do what lies in his power to repair the wrong.

In common with all other Christians of the Fourth Century Theodosius was aware that for public crime the Church canons

[3] De Civ. Dei 5, 26.
[4] Cf. Bibliography.
[5] Ep. 51. 6.

fixed certain definite penances during which the sinner was debarred from taking part in the church services. In his letter Ambrose does not explicitly mention the penance but suggests it when he says: "You are man and temptation has come to you, conquer it. Sin is not taken away except by tears and penitence, . . . I have no reason for obstinacy toward you but I have cause for fear. I do not dare to offer the Sacrifice (of the Mass) if you intend to be present. Is that which is unlawful because of the blood of one innocent man, lawful in the blood of many? I think not. . . . I write by my own hand something for you alone to read." [6]

This letter might perhaps be styled the masterpiece of Ambrose. Certainly there is nothing in his writings which is more attractive. Filled with human sorrow and human sympathy, it is, as it were, a mirror in which we may see its author faithfully reflected. At one time, the tone is that of the respectful and grateful subject to a prince from whom he has received many benefits, at another it is that of the friend fearing the estrangement of a friend, of the judge in presence of a criminal, of the bishop, faithful in the performance of a painful duty; yet throughout we recognize the cry of the shepherd yearning for the return of the lost sheep.

Aside from its human interest it is valuable as being one of two strictly contemporary documents relating to the affair of Thessalonica. The second, written five years later, is the treatise at hand, the funeral oration of Theodosius. In this Ambrose [7] says: "Theodosius the Emperor showed himself humble and when sin had stolen upon him he asked pardon. . . . He threw on the ground all the royal attire which he was wearing; he wept publicly in the Church, for his sin which had stolen upon him by the deceit of others, he prayed for pardon with groans and with tears . . . nor did a day pass afterwards, on which he did not grieve for that mistake of his."

St. Augustine [8] also notes the Emperor's humility and his submission to Church discipline and says: "The people wept more on seeing the imperial majesty prostrate than they feared its anger in sinning."

[6] For the complete Latin text and English translation of this letter cf. App. (1).

[7] De Ob. Th. 28, 38.

[8] De Civ. Dei 5, 26.

The following histories of the event are given for comparison as being nearest in point of time to the foregoing contemporary documents. Rufinus wrote twelve years after the occurrence (402), Paulinus about the year 422,[9] Sozomen and Theodoret around the years 443 and 441-449.

THEODORET.

After the news of this sad calamity which I have mentioned reached Ambrose, the Emperor, arriving at Milan, as usual wished to enter the Church. The Bishop, stepping forth to meet him outside the vestibule, prevented his crossing the consecrated threshold, speaking thus: "You do not know as it seems O Emperor, the magnitude of your deed of blood nor after the cessation of wrath has reflection made you conscious of its heinousness. Perhaps, indeed your royal sovereignty does not permit you to arrive at a sense of your sin but power opposes reason. It needs be, however, that we know our nature, both its mortality that it must waste away and the ancestral dust from which we are made and to which we are returning. Let not the brilliance of the purple robes beguile you into the neglect of perceiving the weakness of the body which it clothes. You, O Emperor, spring from the same nature and are the same as your fellow-slaves, for the Maker of the whole world is the one Master and King of all. Therefore with what eyes will you view the temple of this common Lord? With what feet will you trample on that sacred pavement? How will you extend those hands, still dripping with the blood of an unjust homicide? How in such

SOZOMEN.

After the death of Eugene, the Emperor, entering Milan, proceeded to the Church to pray. When he had come to the entrance, Ambrose, bishop of the city, hastened to meet him and, in the presence of the entire multitude, seized his purple mantle, saying: "Desist! It is not permitted for a man profaned by crime and bearing hands defiled by unrightful slaughter to cross the holy threshold before doing penance, nor is it lawful for him to approach to communion of the sacred mysteries." Then indeed the Emperor, marvelling at the freedom of the Bishop, returned to himself and, pricked by the goad of repentance, withdrew. . . . Therefore for these evils and many others which then happened Ambrose probably blaming the Emperor drove him from the Church and deprived him of its communion. The Emperor indeed confessed his sin publicly in the Church, and in the entire period of the time which had been laid down for his penance according to the custom of mourners he discarded the imperial raiment. He also passed a law that those who carried out the orders of the Emperor should delay for thirty days the punishment of those condemned to death, with this design indeed that the interval of time might soften

[9] Cf. Van Ortroy (1) 18.

THEODORET.

hands will you receive the all holy body of the Lord? How with those lips will you drink the precious Blood when you have poured out so much blood unjustly because of passionate words? Go hence then, and do not strive to increase your former outrage by a second; but receive the bonds which God, the Ruler of the Universe, from above agrees to impose. He is the healer and the guardian of your health.

The Emperor submitted to these words for, versed in the sacred chroniclers, he knew clearly the business of priests and of rulers. Groaning and weeping he returned to the palace. After a long time when eight months had elapsed, as the feast of the birth of the Saviour approached the Emperor sat weeping in his palace. . . .

He (Ambrose) styled the coming of the Emperor an act befitting a tyrant saying, that Theodosius was raging against God and trampling upon His laws. But the Emperor answered: "I am not making bold against laws laid down nor do I desire unlawfully to enter the sacred enclosure, but I think that I have a right that you free me from the bond and consider the clemency of our common Lord, and not close against me the door that the Master has opened to all who make use of penance. The high priest answered: "What sort of repentance have you shown after so great a crime? With what ointment have you dressed your well-nigh incurable wounds?" The Emperor answered: "Your duty is to show and prepare the healing remedy, mine to apply it when received." Then

[10] Cf. Sozomon 7, 25.

SOZOMEN.

the anger of the ruler and, rage being lessened, opportunity might be left for mercy and pardon.[10]

PAULINUS.

At the same time through the city of Thessalonica no little trouble happened for the Bishop when he discovered that the city had been almost wiped out; for the Emperor had promised him that he would grant pardon to the citizens. Agents working secretly, without the knowledge of the Bishop, influenced the Emperor to a crime by which for three hours the citizens were given to the sword and many innocent persons were massacred. When the Bishop learned of the deed he denied the Emperor the right to enter the Church, nor did he judge him worthy of its assemblies or of participation in the sacraments, until he should do public penance. When the Emperor answered that David had committed adultery as well as murder, Ambrose immediately replied: "You have followed him sinning, follow him repenting." When he heard this, the most merciful Emperor took courage so that he did not shrink from public penance. The effect of this correction prepared for him a favourable victory.[11]

RUFINUS.

For when at Thessalonica a cer-

[11] Cf. Paulinus.

THEODORET.

the holy Ambrose said: "Since you entrust to passion the passing of judgments and passion, not reason, governs your judicial enquiries, write a law which shall prevent your passion from acting beyond measure, under which decrees against murder and also confiscation shall be in abeyance for thirty days. When the time has elapsed let those who wrote the sentence make their orders public; then only when passion has ceased reason shall examine and decide whether the sentence be just or unjust. If it be found unjust, it is clear that it will be made void; but if just, the days enumerated for the delay will not harm those justly condemned." The Emperor received this suggestion with approval and thought it most excellent. Immediately he commanded the edict to be prepared, and established it with his own seal. When this was done, holy Ambrose released the bond.[12]

RUFINUS.

tain military leader had been killed by the violence of the raging populace, inflamed by the suddenness of the news of this outrage, Theodosius ordered that the people be gathered in the circus ostensibly for the games but in reality that they might be put to the sword and satisfaction be given not for crime but for rage. When because of this he was censured by the bishops of Italy, he recognized his sin, confessed his crime with tears, and performed public penance in the sight of the whole Church and fulfilled the time appointed for this without wearing the insignia of his kingly rank. To this also he added in an admirable manner the following: He sanctioned a law that in the future sentences involving punishment decreed by the Emperor should be postponed by the executioner till the thirtieth day, whereby an opportunity for mercy or if necessary for penance, might not be lost.[13]

Theodoret's account of the second attempt of Theodosius to enter the Church is preceded by a dramatic story of an effort made by Rufinus to act as an intermediary between the Emperor and the Bishop. Rufinus, finding the Emperor in tears offers to conciliate Ambrose. He goes to the church closely followed by his imperial master. Ambrose upbraids him violently, compares his impudence to that of a dog, and vows to prevent the entrance of Theodosius though it cost his life. Rufinus has not time to forestall the approach of Theodosius who comes asking that his bonds be loosed, as narrated in the foregoing translation. The reference to the Bishop's preferring to suffer violence rather than permit an

[12] Cf. Theodoret 5, 18.
[13] Cf. Rufinus 18.

unlawful entrance into the church reminds one of his words, before quoted, in reference to his refusal to deliver a basilica to Arians.[14]

The method of Sozomen and Theodoret, in imitation of that used by their pagan predecessors of Greece and Rome, aims at giving life and dramatic zest to their narrative by the insertion of dialogue. This method offers opportunity for characterization which is more effective perhaps, than any other, but it is also attended by the danger of yielding to an unlimited play of the imagination. The writer, not pretending to give the exact words of the speakers in question, represents certain situations vividly through the medium of a group of the principal actors involved. The accounts of Theodoret and Sozomen were written for a public trained to and demanding these devices. Studying the several narratives in the light of such a background the question naturally arises: Should a characterization of Ambrose written after this model be accepted at full value, or is the truer account to be found rather, in the letter written by his own hand, for no eye but that of the Emperor? Van Ortroy[15] aptly says: "It may perhaps be thought that it is a matter of indifference whether the Emperor Theodosius came to repentance by the sweet and firm persuasion of St. Ambrose or by an unaccustomed display of sacerdotal rigour on the threshold of the basilica. Such is not my manner of viewing things. In the first place history is history and it is necessary to respect its testimony through love for truth; in the second place the memory of Theodosius the Great has every thing to gain by the faithful narration of that which happened; finally the moral authority of St. Ambrose appears to me much more imposing, if it sufficed to humble the imperial majesty without need of having recourse to extreme measures."

For the purpose of tracing to its source the affair of Thessalonica, Van Ortroy makes a minute study of the Greek lives of St. Ambrose. His survey of these lives is preceded by an investigation of the work of Paulinus. He discounts the marvels which popular tradition had connected with the name of the illustrious prelate, but says that in spite of lacunae and an almost entire absence of chronology, this work passed through the Middle Ages without suffering notable curtailment or embellishment, and that in spite

[14] Cf. Introd. 9.
[15] Cf. Van Ortroy (1) 37.

of scribal errors and a propensity at times, to add details, the numerous copies which have come down to us are close models of the original.

Next passing to the Greek historians Sozomen and Theodoret, Van Ortroy notes the highly dramatic coloring with which the action of Ambrose is depicted. He states that Cassiodorus, the well-known compiler of the sixth century, took over Theodoret's description for his *Historia Tripartita,* a work greatly in vogue during the Middle Ages. Through Cassiodorus and his assistant Epiphanius, this version became current among the Latin chroniclers.

Taking up the two Greek lives found in the Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, Van Ortroy shows that one is a recension of the other, and the earlier work is proven to be a direct compilation of the text of Theodoret. The recension being metaphrastic was considered more valuable than its original and so has come down to us in greater numbers. Van Ortroy, having traced the Greek lives to a common source, i. e. to Theodoret, then investigates the reliability of this author. He finds that Theodoret drew at one time from Socrates, at another from Sozomen, but that the borrowed material was often embroidered with the arabesques of his own fancy. The critic points out carelessness of chronology and certain anachronisms, such as the dramatic role played by the Emperor Valentinian I in the election of Ambrose to the See of Milan. He says that one thing alone is wanting to the perfection of the scene and that is Valentinian's presence in Milan. Theodoret expressly states that he was present. Paulinus and Ammianus Marcellinus are authorities to the contrary. Dates of the Theodosian Code support the statement that at the time of the election of Ambrose, Valentinian was not at Milan but at Trèves, and that he never returned to Milan but went from Trèves to Illyria where he died in November, 375.[16]

Next passing to the question of the length of time imposed for the penance, Van Ortroy finds that though Theodoret is the only historian to say that the period was eight months, there is no objection to accepting his statement. The Theodosian Code shows that the Emperor passed the greater part of this year (390) at Milan. All other points which show a divergence from Paulinus

[16] Cf. Amm. Mar. I, 30, 5, 6.

and Rufinus are held by Van Ortroy to be unsound. He also suggests the probability of Paulinus having become acquainted with the substance of Ambrose's letter to the Emperor and that his statements may have been based upon this information, suggesting that his words in regard to David are but a reminiscence of the letter. Rufinus's passage is founded upon the funeral oration, except for the note made of a law passed by the Emperor as a pledge of amendment. This law guaranteed the suspension for thirty days of sentence passed upon a condemned person in order that severity might not exceed justice.

According to Van Ortroy, Sozomen's narrative is a translation of Rufinus. The inaccuracy of the opening paragraph tends to discredit his reliability, as he places the affair of Thessalonica after the death of Eugene instead of four years earlier. An equally serious discrepancy in Theodoret places the death of the Empress Flacilla after the massacre of Thessalonica instead of five years before it, and also uses the humanitarian law before mentioned, as effective in the sedition of Antioch which occurred in 387 and not subsequent to the event in question.

Examining Theodoret in detail as the source of the later writers, Van Ortroy notes his resemblance to Sozomen, whose matter, however, he changes at will. He appreciates the dramatic effect of the scene as pictured by this historian but finds difficulty in accepting a Theodosius submissive, penitent, approving the attitude of his Bishop in demanding reparation, yet refusing obstinately to submit to penance in expiation of his crime. The improbability of the incident of Rufinus is likewise noted. He indeed would have been an ill-chosen intermediary because according to Theodoret himself Rufinus was accused by Ambrose of being the instigator of the crime. In this scene Ambrose after a violent harangue suddenly subsides, when the Emperor protests his sorrow, and instead of the canonical penance before required, the Bishop asks merely that the Emperor pass a law postponing sentence during thirty days. This law is the same in substance as that which Rufinus the historian mentions not as the penance, but as a guarantee of amendment, or an ulterior mark of sincerity. From Theodoret it would seem that Theodosius was forthwith given free access to the church and that then he stretched himself on the ground bathing the pavement with his tears, tearing his hair, etc. This conduct would not be in harmony with the penitential canons by which the

penitent was debarred from approaching the altar until after the public penance had been performed. The subsequent narrative in which Ambrose orders Theodosius to leave the sanctuary, which is reserved for priests and to take his place among the laity is incongruous, because during the two years' residence of Theodosius at Milan he would have learned the customs of that church, and would have known his appointed place therein.[17]

A citation from the Theodosian Code IX, 40, 13, shows that a law passed by the Emperor in 382 is similar in context to that quoted by Theodoret as the penance imposed by Ambrose. It seems to have been connected with the penance first, by a mistake of Rufinus, to have passed from him to Sozomen, thence to Theodoret. De Broglie in his apology for Theodoret tries to reconcile its appearance in the affair, by suggesting that the law had fallen into disuse and that Ambrose took this opportunity of forcing its reenactment.

De Broglie's defence upholds the soundness of Theodoret's account in general. He claims that it conforms to the principles of psychology and the inner workings of politics as learned from a study of his own country, basing his acceptance upon the fact that the various circumstances are such as one might reasonably expect from a study of the general state of society. He considers that the eight months passed by Theodosius in "sighing and weeping" represent a time of struggle between faith and pride, not a voluntary absence from the Church in obedience to penitential requirements, and holds that the definite penance imposed was the redaction of the humanitarian law, before noted. In support of this opinion he says that the Bishop did not wish to do anything "which had even the appearance of an external show of force,"[18] Theodoret's violent language notwithstanding.

In two articles one by Christopher Baur[19] the other by Hugo Koch[20] the same questions are discussed and the contention of Van Ortroy is upheld in regard to the improbability of the Emperor Theodosius's attempt to enter the church and his forcible repulse by the Bishop. Baur does not agree that a short statement in Paulinus, "He denied the Emperor the right of entering the Church" was the innocent source of the legend as noted by Van

[17] Cf. De Labriolle 141.
[18] Cf. De Broglie 317.
[19] Cf. Bibliography.
[20] Cf. Bibliography.

Ortroy, but does admit that the story was taken by Theodoret from Sozomen and developed beyond all bounds of truth. His suggestion as to Sozomen's source seems not at all improbable. He states that Sozomen wrote in Constantinople and also notes the admiration of Theodoret for the writings of his countryman, St. John Chrysostom. Baur then calls attention to a work of Chrysostom's entitled "St. Babylas against Julian and the Gentiles," in which the scene centres around a Bishop who, alone and unprotected, braved the arrogance of a tyrant and his court, to the point of expelling the Emperor from the Church, because of the murder of an innocent hostage. Chrysostom himself had taken part in a similar scene when forced to forbid the Empress Eudoxia and her suite to enter the Church. Baur points out the striking analogy which exists between these incidents and the Milanese "Church Door Scene," and suggests that Sozomen did not create the legend but translated it, as applying to the case of Theodosius.

Koch upholds Van Ortroy in his charge against the accuracy of the Greek Lives. He notes that scarcely a history has omitted the dramatic story in which Ambrose expels the Emperor from the vestibule of the church and refers to the old column still shown in front of the church in Milan as the place where the encounter had taken place, and which forms an interesting landmark for the unsuspecting tourist. Koch points out that modern criticism has exposed the superficial character of such dramatizations, and that investigators have proven the narrative of Theodoret to be fictitious. In his discussion of the penitential canons of the Western Church, he says that the murderer was excluded from the sacraments and participation in the services for a long period of time and points out the inconsistencies in the narratives of Theodoret and Sozomen. He agrees in general with the investigation of Van Ortroy but thinks it improbable that Paulinus, in referring to David's sin, was aware of the contents of Ambrose's confidential letter. He traces this reference to a similar passage in De Inst. Virg. 4, 31. This opinion is also held by Ihm.[21]

Koch holds that, aside from Ambrose himself, Rufinus who wrote twelve years after the massacre, is the oldest. simplest, and most impartial of the historians. He agrees with Van Ortroy that the

[21] Cf. Studia Ambrosiana 52.

passage in Paulinus by a misunderstanding grew into a legend in which Ambrose uses a physical rather than a moral prohibition. Then reviewing the contentions of De Broglie, Koch points out that the question at hand, is one of source criticism rather than psychological probability, and that such criticism has proven that the foundation of the generally accepted story was in every respect unsound.

A notable defect in the arguments of De Broglie is that it deals largely in generalities. His criticism of Van Ortroy's rejection of the Greek sources rests on his claim that the Latin sources fail to satisfy a natural curiosity, as they leave in uncertainty all that would be necessary and interesting for the understanding of the event. After calling the letter of St. Ambrose "a monument of a greatness and an eloquence without parallel" he wishes to know how the Emperor received it. This of course is the crux of the whole matter. Could we answer this question, further discussion would be unnecessary, but the error of De Broglie in his support of Theodoret seems to be his insistence on the fact, not that these things could have happened but that they had to happen. He gives Theodoret the value of a contemporary source from the possibility that, though writing thirty or forty years after the event, he could have conversed with witnesses of it. Arguments which take so much for granted fail of their purpose. One feels that De Broglie's keen interest in the question, joined to his dramatic instinct, has made him read into the subject much of his own personality, and that what he thinks should be there, he finds ready at hand. History in the large certainly repeats itself, but its repetitions cannot be considered safe criteria for application to individual cases.

Van Ortroy and his supporters seem to have the strong side of the argument. Whether the story be traced to Paulinus or whether Chrysostom be the innocent source of it, the account of Theodoret is by no means convincing when compared with earlier evidence. All that can be said with certainty about the question is that Theodosius, the Emperor did penance for the crime committed against his subjects. Stripping off his royal attire, "he wept publicly for his sin . . . he asked pardon for it with groans and tears." [22] Ambrose when speaking these words was addressing those very

[22] De Ob. Th. 34.

Milanese who five short years before had waited with expectant curiosity to see whether the sinner in ermine and gold would be given the judgment accorded to the sinner in rags. The outcome showed that God's Church is no respecter of persons. Still, had violence been necessary to force the Emperor to submit to the laws of the Church, had he held out obstinately against them for a period of eight months, would Ambrose have dared to bring into prominence the humility of his sovereign by saying: "That which brings a blush to private citizens the Emperor did not blush to do, that is to perform penance publicly" [23] and "through humility he attained salvation."? [24]

D. Vocabulary.

The vocabulary of Ambrose is rich and varied. It is characterized, however, by fulness rather than by originality. In common with ecclesiastical writers of his day his diction reflects the successive transformations which the Latin language had undergone in its effort to maintain that vitality imperative not for its growth and development alone, but for its very existence. Chief among these factors may be mentioned the preservation in the sermo plebius of archaic words which gradually were admitted into the literary language; the enlargement of vocabulary by the adoption of Greek words or the coining of Latin words after Greek models; the extended use of poetic terms by the writers of the imperial age and by their successors, and finally, the demand for terms expressive of the beliefs and aspirations of the rapidly increasing Christian population, with the consequent adoption, though with altered concept, of many terms characteristic of the pagan religion, as well as those borrowed from the Hebrew.

The present treatise furnishes no example of a word coined by Ambrose, but it provides its quota of ante- and post-classical terms, poetic words and expressions, words with altered meaning, as well as words notable from the fact that they are strictly Ciceronian. On the negative side it is interesting to note the absence of certain features characteristic of contemporary writers, such as an excessive use of dimnutives, and of certain forms rarely found among classic

[23] De Ob. Th. 34.
[24] De Ob. Th. 27.

authors, but common to late writers, such as concrete substantives in *-tura* and *-tudo,* adjectives in *-bundus* and *-ivus* etc.

Among classical writers substantives formed from the supine with the suffix *-tor* and *-trix* were ordinarily used to express habitual action or inherent qualities. Later writers greatly extended the use of such substantives, which were convenient substitutes for clauses, in expressing temporary action or agency. The present treatise contains nine examples of the masculine suffix *-tor* but no instance of the feminine *-trix.* The following words are formed regularly on the supine and for the most part are post-Augustan, one only, being found in Cicero.

1. *Nouns in -tor*

affectator	(rare and chiefly p. Aug.), 17.
auxiliator	(rare and p. Aug.), 15.
deductor	(= a guide: late), 55.
habitator	(found in Cicero), 56.
persecutor	(p. c.), 46; 48.
praedicator	(= a preacher: eccl.), 48.
redemptor	(= saviour: eccl.), 16.
supplantator	(eccl.), 4.
triumphator	(p. c.), 44.

2. *Nouns in -tio, -sio.*

Abstract feminine nouns are formed regularly from the supine by the suffix *-tio* or *-sio* according as the supine ending is *-tum* or *-sum* as, *devotio, successio.* The need felt by ecclesiastical writers of a medium expressive of abstract ideas made such substantives extremely popular among them. Excluding such as are common to classical authors, as well as those used under the direct influence of a Biblical quotation, Ambrose, in the present treatise, offers thirteen examples. Among the list three are retained because they are strictly Ciceronian. One of these, *humatio,* deserves special notice. This word occurs twice in the Tusculan Disputations,[1] then seems to have disappeared until the latter fourth century when it is found once in Ausonius [2] and once in the present treatise.[3]

[1] Cf. Tusc. 1, 43, 102.
[2] Cf. Il. 7, 12.
[3] Cf. De Ob. Th. 3.

devotio (= piety: eccl.), 47; 51.
humatio (Cic.), 3.
indignatio (= occasion for indignation: poetic), 14.
lectio (= text: p. c.), 3; 45; 53.
operatio (= beneficence: eccl.), 51.
oratio (= prayer: eccl.), 21.
passio (p. c.), 20; 21; 38.
persecutio (persecution: eccl.), 47.
redemptio (= release from sin: eccl.), 43; 48.
relaxatio (Cic.), 5.
remuneratio (Cic.), 32; 38.
successio (chiefly p. Aug.), 5.
ultio (not a. Aug.), 12; 14.

3. *Nouns in -culum*

This suffix is added to verbs and usually indicates an instrument of action.

habitaculum (p. c.), 52, formed from the frequentative verb, habitare.

4. *Nouns in -ia, -ntia*

These suffixes received large development among late writers, because of their frequent use of abstract terms. Many of the nouns in *-ntia* are formed from present participles in the neuter plural.

ecclesia (= Church: eccl.), 34; 35; 38; 49.
indulgentia (= remission of guilt: p. c.), 1; 4.
militia (= spiritual warfare: eccl.), 9.
paenitentia (= penance: eccl.), 27; 34.
prophetia (eccl.), 52.
substantia (p. Aug.), 21.

5. *Nouns in -tās*

caritas (= charity, love of God: eccl.), 17; 19; 38.
pietas (= love of God: eccl.), 2; 12; 39; 52.
solemnitas (p. c.), 3.

6. *Nouns in -ela*

This suffix is rare, belonging to early and late Latin.

corruptela (eccl.), 37.

7. *Nouns in -men, -mentum*

germen (poetic and p. Aug.), 54.
sacramentum (= a symbol, or mystery: eccl.), 34; 46.

8. *Nouns in -tura*

A plebeian suffix whose classical equivalent was *-tis.*

Scriptura, a classical word, used among ecclesiastical writers to designate the Scriptures. 12; 14; 28.

9. *Nouns in -ium*

consortium (not a. Aug.), 29; 32; 34.
dispendium (chiefly a. and p. Aug.), 9.
evangelium (= Gospel: eccl.), 18; 19; 45.
martyrium (eccl.), 21.
sacrilegium (p. Aug.), 49.

10. *Nouns in -arius, -aria.*

These usually denote an agent and are frequent in the sermo plebeius.

adversarius (= the devil: eccl.), 10.
stabularia (Amb.), 42.

11. *Nouns in -us, -um.*

apostolus (eccl.), 20; 31.
arianus (eccl.), 49.
christianus (eccl.), 49.
diabolus (eccl.), 44.
paradisus (heaven: eccl.), 56.
photinianus (eccl.), 49.
pignus (= one's own child: p. Aug.), 11; 40.
salus (= salvation: eccl.), 27; 43; 44; 46.
titulus (= title: chiefly p. Aug.), 45.
affectum (= love: p. Aug.), 11; 3; 54.
baptismum (eccl.), 26.
debitum (p. Aug. and rare), 22.
habitum (= attire: not a. Aug.), 52.
idolum (= idol: eccl.), 4.
mandatum (= commandment: eccl.), 19.
propheticum (eccl.), 40.
saeculum (= the world: eccl.), 30.

12. *Miscellaneous*

decor	(poetic: in prose chiefly p. Aug.), 47.
indago	(chiefly p. Aug.), 45.
praesul	(= protector: p. c.), 16.
suboles	(poetic, but class.), 4.

1. *Adjectives in -ilis, -bilis*

This suffix was common to the sermo plebeius in early and late Latin.

desiderabilis	(rare), 17.
gentilis	(= heathen: eccl.), 46.
humilis	(= humble: eccl.), 28.
ineffabilis	(p. Aug.), 21.
intellegibilis	(p. Aug.), 29.
invisibilis	(chiefly p. c.), 49.
sensibilia	(p. Aug., very rare), 29.

2. *Adjectives in -osus*

This suffix is frequent in colloquial Latin.

speciosus	(chiefly p. Aug.), 5.
tenebrosus	(poetic), 1.

3. *Adjectives in -us, -a.*

defunctus	(p. Aug.), 3.
devotus	(= devout: p. Aug.), 15.
incredulus	(= unbeliever: eccl.), 15.
infernus	(= hell: eccl.), 19.
inhonora	(rare), 54.
insignitus	(chiefly p. Aug.), 47.
perfectus	(= perfect: eccl.), 37.
pius	(= pious: eccl.), 18.
prolixus	(= extended in speech: p. c.), 35.
reciproca	(l. c., but chiefly p. c.), 6.
reverenda	(chiefly poetic), 55.
superna	(= heaven: chiefly p. Aug.), 2.
validus	(poetic and chiefly p. Aug.), 7.

4. *Miscellaneous*

dominica	(rare), 41.
fastidiens	(rare before Aug.), 22.

fidelis (believer: eccl.), 15.
infidelis (unbeliever: eccl.), 16.
mortalis (chiefly a. c. in sing.), 46.
sublimia (poetic and p. Aug. chiefly), 18.

Verbs compounded with prepositions.

Such compounds are common in classical Latin. Strictly classical compounds are omitted from the following list.

a) Compounds with *ad*

adsistere (= adesse: p. Aug.), 3; 16.
affulgere (chiefly poetic but found in hist. First noted in Horace), 37.

b) with *con*

condescenderet (eccl.), 21.

c) with *de*

decutere (chiefly p. Aug.), 45.
derelinquere (= leave behind; late), 2.
destruere (rare before Aug.), 38.

d) with *ex*

eruderare (= clear away rubbish: late and rare), 44.
effundere (poetic), 26.
expavere (late chiefly), 9.
expuere (p. Aug.), 26.

e) with *in*

inclinare (poetic and p. Aug. chiefly), 12; 21.
inequitare (= insult: p. c.), 7.

f) with *inter*

interturbare (a. and p. c.), 4.

g) with *per*

pertendere (= to proceed: chiefly p. Aug.), 46.

h) with *prae*

praesumere (= trust: late), 25; 35.
praevenire (p. Aug.), 1.

i) with *re*

recensere (poetic and chiefly p. Aug.), 52.
relevare (poetic, rare), 21.
reparare (rare until p. Aug. prose), 36.
resuscitare (eccl.), 21.
revelare (not a. Aug.), 40.

j) with *sub*

subrigere (rare in active), 18.

2. *Denominative verbs from nouns.*

transfretare (p. Aug.), 55.

3. *Denominative verbs from adjectives.*

humiliare (eccl.), 27.

4. *Verbs in -ficare*

iustificare (eccl.), 9.

5. *Miscellaneous*

fulgere (a. and p. c.), 38.
plectere (= punish: a. and p. c. in active), 13.
rapere (= to snatch away by death: poetic and p. Aug.), 1.
solari (chiefly poetic), 35.
sternere (= throw to ground: poetic, in prose not a. Aug.), 34.
temerare (poetic chiefly), 11.

Words used with a decided change of meaning:

a) Nouns

angelus:
class. = a messenger.
eccl. = an angel, 9; 18; 56.

caritas:
class. = affection.
eccl. = charity, love of God, 17; 19; 38.

crux:
class. = a gibbet.
eccl. = the cross of Christ, 43; 45; 48; 49; 51.

devotio:
class. = a consecration.
eccl. = piety, 22; 51.

dominus:
class. = a master.
eccl. = the Lord, 19; 22; 36; 37; 38; et saepe.

ecclesia:
class. = an assemblage.
eccl. = the Church, or a Christian congregation, 34; 35; 38; 49.

evangelium:
class. = good news.
eccl. = the Gospel, 18; 19; 45.

exitus:
class. = departure.
eccl. = death, 5.

fides:
class. = trust, protection, 6; 8.
eccl. = Christian religion, faith, 4; 7; 9; 12; 47; 48; 51.

gentes:
class. = races.
eccl. = heathens, 4.

gratia:
class. = favor, gratitude.
eccl. = divine grace, pardon, 12; 17; 26; 34; 37; 40; 46.

humilitas:
class. = lowness.
eccl. = humility, 27.

indulgentia:
class. = tenderness.
p. c. = remission, 1; 4; 5.

lapsus:
class. = slipping.
eccl. = falling into sin, 30.

lectio:
class. = act of reading.
late = text, 3; 45; 53.

lignum:
class. = wood.
eccl. = the Cross of Christ, 45; 46.

mandatum:
class. = a command.
eccl. = the Commandments of God, 19.

mundus:
class. = the universe.
eccl. = this world as opposed to heaven, 1; 29.

mysterium:
class. = a secret rite.
eccl. = above human intelligence, 38.

oratio:
class. = a discourse.
eccl. = a prayer, 21.

paenitentia:
class. = regret for failure.
eccl. = penance, 27; 34.

paradisus:
class, = a park.
eccl. = heaven, 56.

passio:
p. c. = suffering.
eccl. = suffering of Christ and martyrs, 20; 21; 38; 41.

persecutio:
class. = a pursuing.
eccl. = persecution, 23; 47.

pietas:
class. = reverence for gods, parents, country, 3; 53.
eccl. = love and reverence for God, 2; 12; 39; 48; 52.

praedicator:
class. = a eulogist.
eccl. = a preacher, 48.

redemptio:
class. = a buying back.
eccl. = release from sin, 43; 47; 48.

redemptor:
class. = a contractor.
eccl. = the Redeemer, 16.

remissio:
class. = a relaxing.
eccl. = forgiveness of sin.

requies:
class. = rest.
eccl. = heaven, eternal rest, 29; 30; 36; 37.

sacerdos:
class. = a priest, a priestess.
eccl. = a bishop, a priest, 36.

sacramentum:
class. = a guarantee.
eccl. = a symbol, a sacrament, the Holy Eucharist, 34; 46.

saeculum:
class. = an age.
eccl. = the world as opposed to Christianity, 30.

salus:
class. = health, safety.
eccl. = eternal salvation, 27; 43; 44; 46; 49; 51.

scriptura:
class. = writing.
eccl. = the Scriptures, 12; 14; 28.

sermo:
class. = speech.
eccl. = sermon, 33; 35.

b) Adjectives.

beatus:
class. = happy.
eccl. = blessed (of the dead), 56.

devotus:
class. = devoted.
eccl. = pious, 15.

gentiles:
class. = belonging to a gens.
eccl. = heathens, 46.

infidelis:
class. = unfaithful.
eccl. = an unbeliever, 10; 16.

iustus:
class. = honorable.
eccl. = virtuous, 48.

perfectus:
class. = finished.
eccl. = perfect in virtue, 37.

pius:
class. = filial, 4; 54.
eccl. = pious, devout, 17; 18; 39.

c) Verbs.

donare:
class. = to give.
Amb. = to forgive sin, 26; 46.

operari:
class. = to toil.
eccl. = to effect, 11.

resurgere:
class. = to rise.
eccl. = to rise from the dead, 36; 49.

2. Religious terms of paganism, used in a Christian sense.

coelestis	29.	sacerdos	36.
deus	21.	sacrificium	21.
divinitas	14.	sacrilegium	49.
infernus	39.	templum	40.

Non-classical Greek Loan Words.

angelus	(eccl),	10; 18; 56.	idolum	(eccl.),	4.
archangelus	"	18.	martyr	"	10.
apostolus	"	31.	martyrium	"	21.
baptismum	"	26.	paradisus	"	56.
cithara	(poetic),	10.	prophetia	"	52.
daemon	(eccl.),	49.	psalmista	"	17.
diabolus	"	44.	psalmus	"	37.
ecclesia	"	34.	propheticus	"	40.
evangelium	"	18.			

Words borrowed from Hebrew.

pascha 15; 38.
sabbatum 29.

E. Syntax.

Among the ecclesiastical writers of the third and fourth centuries certain syntactical peculiarities occur which differ essentially from the constructions standardized by the classical age. Some of these may be explained as extensions of classical usage demanded by the increasing flexibility of the Latin language; others by the revival of ante-classical forms, or borrowings from Greek and from Hebrew, the natural outcome among the Church Fathers of their constant use of various Biblical translations. Chief among these peculiarities might be placed: the tendency to confuse moods and tenses of the verb, an extended use of the infinitive as complement, and also to express purpose, and the substitution of a clause introduced by *quod, quia* or *quoniam* for the accusative with the infinitive in indirect statements. The classical distinction between pronouns also became obscured, and a greatly extended use of prepositions found place.

The Latin of Ambrose, as a general rule, conforms to the classical model. The present treatise furnishes examples of certain peculiarities of his age but they are not found to preponderate over the usual constructions. These divergencies of syntax will be discussed fully in the notes, in the order of their occurrence. Here attention will be called to notable peculiarities only:

1. Case.

a) The Genitive.

The extension of the use of the appositional genitive, and the genitive of quality, is due to Hebraic influence. In classical Latin the genitive of quality was ordinarily accompanied by a modifying adjective. The number of examples in this treatise used without a modifier is striking.

For the appositional genitive, cf. par. 51. Exuerunt se chamo *perfidiae* . . . fraena *devotionis* et *fidei.*

For the genitive of quality:

Cf. 13, naturae fluctus.
Cf. 30, mortis corpore.
Cf. 43, vexillum salutis.
Cf. 43, locus pugnae.
Cf. 46, cubile veritatis.
Cf. 46, remedium immortalitatis.
Cf. 46, sacramentum salutis.
Cf. 46, vanitas impiorum.
Cf. 51, philosophiae . . . errori.
Cf. 53, pietatis exsilium.

b) The Dative used:

as indirect object with *haerere, adhaerere, iungere* etc. is poetic. Cf. 7, *Christo* se *adhaereres* cognosceret; 4, *ei* sua Flacilla *adhaeret . . . Constantino adhaeret;* 29 *adhaerens Deo.*

c) The Ablative used:

instead of the accusative to express duration of time.

Cf. 3, *quadraginta diebus* humationis officia detulit. Note that the ablative may be due to the Biblical quotation following: Luxit septuaginta diebus. The same would explain a similar construction in 15, *quadraginta annis* regnavit in Hierusalem.

2. Prepositions.

a) ad with the accusative instead of a simple dative after a verb of saying. Cf. 19, *dicit ad* Petrum, the Biblical passage being dicit Simoni Petro. John 21, 15. Cf. also par. 21, *ad se clamare;* 10, *ait ad Dominum* suum, for which the Bible reads nuntiavitque ei, 4 Kings 6, 15.

Ad with the accusative to express purpose or result. Cf. 9, non subtrahamus *ad dispendium* animae used by analogy with the Biblical *in adquisitionem* animae. Hebr. 10, 39. Cf. also 48, ut *ad imitationem* Domini dicatur.

For propter instead of ad with the accusative of the gerundive, cf. 54, Jacob *propter* populum *liberandum* . . . ad peregrina contendit.

b) de instead of ex with the ablative of material, cf. 48, *de uno clavo* fraenos fieri praecepit; 48, corona *de cruce;* de with the ablative instead of a simple dative, cf. 25, *de* sua *virtute* praesumit; 35, praesumo *de Domino.*

c) in with the ablative instead of apud with the accusative. Cf. 48, ut crux Christi *in regibus* adoretur.

Ambrose offers several illustrations of the disregard of the classical distinction of demonstratives.

For iste—ille instead of hic—ille, cf. 4, celebrat *iste* supplantatoris *illius*.

For iste = hic, cf. 1, note 9, mundi *istius*.[1] This expression became current in patristic literature by analogy with οὗτος ὁ κόσμος. Cf. also 30, saeculi *istius* and 48, non insolentia *ista*.

For ille = is, cf. 50, quod liceret *illis*.

For unus—alter instead of alter—alter, cf. 47, *unum* ad decorem, *alterum* ad devotionem vertit.

For examples of weak comparatives, *speciosius* (cf. 5) and *prolixiore* (cf. 35) might be noted. No diminutives occur except *parvulus* which is classical. Ambrose offers nothing in the present treatise to illustrate the confusion of moods, and for tenses, only the following: cf. 27, qui humilitatem Christi *fuerit* (for sit) *sequutus;* 45, quod duo latrones cum Domino *crucifixi fuerint* (for sint). Cf. also 56, for the present subjunctive instead of the usual perfect in a prohibition, nec *vereare* ne . . . *videantur*. One instance occurs of an infinitive used to express purpose; cf. 2, Et ille quidem abiit *accipere* sibi regnum: one of the omission of the subject of an infinitive where ambiguity results; cf. 21, et non loquentem sed interpellantem gemitibus . . . clamare dicebat. Judging from the context of the preceding clause the subject of clamare should be *Mosen* but the subject of the Scriptural passage is the Holy Ghost. Cf. Rom. 8, 26, Ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus.

A number of verbs occur which, through poetic influence or analogy with other verbs, have come to take a complementary infinitive. Among the list are found:

novisse = scire (know how)	Cf. 16, novit ignoscere; 21, novit . . . sanguinem audire.
erubescere	Cf. 34, eribuit . . . agere poenitentiam.
metuere	Cf. 46, metuebat calcare sacramentum.
rogare	Cf. 13, rogaretur ignoscere.

[1] Cf. Meader, 126.

mereri	Cf. 20, mereatur . . . coronari.
dignari	Cf. 21, nos audire dignetur.

Ambrose shows reserve in the substitution of the quod, quia, quoniam construction for the accusative with the infinitive in indirect statements. From the thirty-two instances of indirect statements found, twenty-seven follow the classical model, and five are according to the latter construction. According to Souter,[2] the purists used the accusative infinitive construction only, the somewhat less strict used also quod, the less strict still, used quia and the really lax quoniam. The De Ob. Th. has three such constructions with quod and the subjunctive, and two with quia and the indicative, quoniam is not so used. Cf. 1, Denuntiabat *quod . . . excessurus esset;* 10, arbitror *quod fila . . .* fides *dicantur, quoniam* mortua *reddant.* Note here also the unclassical use of quoniam with the subjunctive, perhaps due to attraction; cf. also 16, speramus *quod . . . adsistat.* For quia with the indicative cf. 45, *invenit quia . . .* titulus *erat;* 10, audisti . . . *quia* ubi perfidia est, ibi caecitas *est.*

Two examples occur of an unusual construction with ut and a subjunctive instead of an indicative in a temporal clause. Cf. 8, nec Abraham *ut* in senectute *generaret* filium; 51, quid . . . egit Helenae operatio, *ut* fraena *dirigeret?* For dum with the indicative instead of cum with the imperfect subjunctive, cf. 51, qui salutis suae auctorem reliquit, *dum* philosophiae se *dedit* errori. For donec with the subjunctive instead of the indicative, cf. 34 *donec* Domini . . . gratiam . . . *experiretur.* For cum with the indicative instead of the subjunctive, cf. 48, non insolentia ista . . . *cum defertur* sacrae redemptioni.

F. Style.

From the material presented by one treatise no certain conclusions can be drawn regarding an author's style in general, yet a minute study of the characteristics of a particular work, viewed in the light of a survey of an author's writings as a whole, furnishes data which are useful for the confirmation or denial of the justice of his title to eloquence, brilliancy, originality, etc. Before

[2] Cf. Bibliography.

such confirmation or denial become worthy of acceptance, however, it must be weighed in the balance, not with our twentieth century criteria of excellence, but with the standards of the age which produced the work in question.

In the age of Ambrose to be what we would call excessively florid was to be elegant. The taste of the times expected imitations and reminiscences. It demanded devices every feature of whose mechanism long use had made familiar. It imposed narrow limits upon the orator's resources and insisted upon the illusion of originality. Ingenuity in the handling of the time-honored materials, was the only escape—a massing of the conventional into surprise formations and the decking out of the whole in color-schemes that tried ever to be more gorgeous. In the age of Ambrose this was the vogue, and the rich material and enthusiasms that Christianity brought to oratory only partially emancipated her own protagonists from the centuries-old habits of their environment.

Among his contemporaries Ambrose's title to eloquence seems to have required no apologist. He has been styled by Pelagius " the flower of Latin writers." [1] Augustine, the most illustrious of his admirers, was drawn irresistibly by the eloquence of the Bishop, and listening from his hiding place behind a pillar of the basilica, finally was forced to yield to the power of the indomitable preacher. Of those pre-conversion days he tells us in his Confessions,[2] " I came to Milan, to Ambrose the bishop, especially known as one of the best of men and Thy pious servant, by whose forceful eloquence there was provided for Thy people the fat of Thy wheat, the gladness of Thine oil, and the sober intemperance of Thy wine. But I unconsciously was led to him by Thee, that by him I might be led knowingly to Thee. The man of God received me as a father and welcomed my removal to Milan with the hospitality of a true Bishop. And I began to love him, at first indeed not as a doctor of truth, for I had utterly lost hope in Thy Church, but as a man kindly disposed toward me. Eagerly I heard him preaching among Thy people, not with the intention which I should have had, but as if sounding his eloquence, whether it accorded with his reputation or whether its stream was greater or less than reported. Tensely I hung upon his words, indifferent to the matter spoken,

[1] Cf. Aug. Op. Imp. Cont. Jul. 2, 10, 1692A.

[2] Conf. 5; 13; 14.

and a despiser of it; I delighted in the sweetness of his discourse. Although more learned, he had less of the seductive charm than Faustus, at least according to the art of rhetoric; as for their substance there was no comparison; the one was lost in Manichean errors, the other taught with healing powers the way of salvation. . . . I was not anxious to learn the matter he was teaching but only to hear the manner in which it was said. . . . There came to me with the words which I loved, the truths themselves which I disregarded."

Again we find him [3] saying: "Behold Ambrose poured forth the clear and transparent stream of eloquence. There is no place in which the reader hesitates, where the listener is in the dark." No greater proof is needed of the eloquence of Ambrose than that his word could captivate the ear of probably the greatest rhetorician of his day, the true "flower of Latin writers."

In common with his Greek and Latin contemporaries, Ambrose shows the influence of his early training in the schools where pagan rhetoric still held sway under the influence of the Second Sophistic era. Though little is known of those formative years, much may be inferred from the fact that he was educated at Rome and trained in oratory, that is, he received an education common to the Roman youth of the upper class, including or centering about an intensive study of rhetoric, with all that the word implies in regard to methods and teachers during that epoch.[4] Speaking of its effects upon the culture of the day Mr. Campbell [5] says: "The Second Sophistic is not a phase of a rhetorical epoch. It is itself an epoch of pagan rhetoric, a lineal descendant of Gorgias and the Fifth Century B. C. operative in the Fourth Century A. D. in all circles of culture Christian and Pagan." Ambrose's response to such training is shown by the fact that his pleading in the courts early attracted the favorable attention of Probus, prefect of the Praetorium and won for the young man the appointment to the governorship of Liguria and Aemilia with rank of proconsul.

As he was a contemporary of Libanius, the most noted sophist of the day and of Themistius, who was at Rome in 357 while the

[3] Cont. Jul. Pel. II, 11, B.

[4] For an exposition of the characteristics, purposes and results of the period. Cf. Campbell, 14 ff.

[5] Cf. Campbell, 19.

education of Ambrose was still in progress, he undoubtedly came under their influence more or less directly, and probably was acquainted with their later works, among which were various panegyrics in honor of Theodosius. Evidence of such influence is present throughout the writings of Ambrose.

It has been urged that the literary genius of Ambrose was stifled by his age and its unyielding canons, and that it is to his intense earnestness that his reputation as an orator is chiefly due. There may be a measure of truth in the first part of this statement; there is a great deal of truth in the second. It would be difficult to discover in any of his works passages in which the purpose of the preacher does not stand more to the fore than the skilful use of any acquisition from the schools. His motive was to teach, yet with the instinct of a true teacher he did not disdain external aids toward making his matter attractive to his pupils. But a literary genius, even a repressed literary genius, can hardly be claimed for Ambrose. His genius lay rather in beneficent statesmanship and the shepherding of souls. Here were his talents, and here were his aims. For such ends his literary activity was a means, but it was his lofty purpose and the charm of his personality, and not extraordinary literary parts that lifted him above so many of his gifted contemporaries.

In considering the style of the De Obitu Theodosii Oratio attention has been paid to its figures of ornament and emphasis, as well as to its general structure. Definitions of the various figures are included in the commentary, and will not be repeated here, but merely a general survey of groups will be made.

The fifty-six chapters of the oration furnish examples of forty different figures used it seems deliberately. The greatest number fall under figures of parallelism, which supply more than two hundred examples. Of these, antithesis ranks first with fifty-three instances. Among the numerous figures of imagery, metaphor is the most frequent, supplying sixty-one examples. Anaphora, chiasmus, homoioptoton and homoioteleuton abound, according to the style of the trained rhetorician.

Paragraph 49 is noteworthy as being the most figurative of the oration. Within a compass of twenty-eight lines, there is scarcely a phrase which does not supply varied illustrations. Prosopopoeia is found in nine successive sentences which also include interrogatio

and five instances of exclamatio. In addition there are four examples of antithesis, and three of anaphora, beside metaphor, isocolon, paradox, paragmenon, conversio, homoioteleuton, arsis and thesis, polyptoton, and chiasmus.

Paragraphs 43 and 44 contain a continued prosopopoeia with five rhetorical questions. The most notable anaphora occurs in 53, a paragraph consisting of four sentences each of which commences with the words, *Portavit iugum grave,* and two of which contain a second anaphora *quando,* in the subordinate clause.

Paragraph 41 offers illustrations of that striving for balance and symmetry which Ambrose exhibits in common with his contemporaries of both Orient and Occident. *Recte in capite clavus, ut ubi sensus est, ibi sit praesidium.* The sentence *In vertice corona, in manibus habena* shows perfect isocolon in structure and number of syllables, arranged with rhythmical effect. In the succeeding sentence a similar purpose seems evident, with a break in the rhythm which is perhaps intentional. *Corona de cruce, ut fides luceat; habena quoque de cruce, ut potestas regat.* Cf. also 21, *Clamavit in martyrio, clamavit in parricidio, quod pertulit pro sacrificio.*

Paragraph 26 contains an example of the exaggerated metaphor characteristic of the sophistic style.[6] The subjects chosen for the metaphors in general are those common to the age. We find the influence of St. Paul in those drawn from the athletic contests, which formed a favorite source of figures in pagan rhetoric. In this class may also be included the metaphors of the horse returning from the race course and the ship in safe moorings. The Christian concept of the shipwrecked, and of the flood of the evils of this life, of the cross as a weapon against Satan, of death as a metaphor for sin, and of virtue as a bridle for the passions are all present.

G. Rhetorical Structure.

The great preachers of the Eastern Church, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom, trained in the schools of the foremost sophists of their age, furnish examples of the Christian sermon written according to the traditional rules of the rhetoric of the Fourth Century, and therefore based upon sophistic models. The funeral orations of the two

[6] Cf. Commentary par. 26, note 13.

Gregorys have been studied in their relation to the schematic plan of the rhetoricians, and their correspondence with definite types has been clearly demonstrated. Boulenger,[1] in noting the essential differences between the *ἐγκώμιον* and the *ἐπιτάφιος*, says that the latter is characterized by the *θρῆνος* and *παραμυθητικὸν πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ γένος*, and that with the addition of these two elements the *ἐπιτάφιος λόγος* belongs to the class of oration called by the Greeks *βασιλικός*, of which the following plan of Menander serves as an illustration:

I. 1. *προίμιον.*

II. 2. *πατρίς, πόλις, ἔθνος, γένος.*
3. *τὰ περὶ γενέσεως.*
4. *περὶ φύσεως.*
5. *ἀνατροφή.*
6. *παιδεία.*
7. *ἐπιτηδεύματα.*
8. *ὁ περὶ τῶν πράξεων λόγος.*
9. *τὰ τῆς τύχης.*
10. *ἡ τελειοτάτη σύγκρισις.*

III. 11. *οἱ ἐπίλογοι.*
12. *εὐχή.*

The circumstances that attend the delivery of encomia make them a highly conventional type even in the least artificial of civilizations. The highly artificial rhetoric of the Fourth Century could but emphasize and reinforce this typical conventionality. The orator must not merely get through his task as painlessly as possible. He must cast glory upon the deceased, and frequently too upon the living. In addition he must not neglect his own reputation in discharging his duties to others. The orator must make of his eulogy a parade-speech, and, with such straight-laced models as the topics of Menander imposed upon him, exaggeration of a most extravagant form was frequently his chief reliance—an exaggeration, or even downright falsehood that found in comparison, expressed or implied, a graceful instrument for its purpose. "For example a man may be praised because he was the only one who performed a certain act, or because he did it first, or was one of a small company, or achieved greater success in it than others,

[1] Cf. Boulenger, xxv.

or because he did it while very young (or very old) or under difficulties, or with consummate ease. Especially is it useful to compare the subject with those who have already attained eminence for similar conduct." [2]

Instances of such comparison are easily pointed out in the oration at hand, as for example that between Josias and Theodosius. The former pleased God, *quoniam prae ceteris regibus Israel Domini pascha celebravit, et ceremoniarum abolevit errores.*[3] Theodosius also piously celebrated the pasch for, *Quis splendidius celebravit quam qui sacrilegos removit errores, clausit templa, simulacra destruxit.*[4] Paragraph 15 uses comparison, not for the purpose of magnifying the dead, but the living, as the prowess of two youthful kings of Israel gives promise of success to the sons of Theodosius. Here too may lie, perhaps, the explanation of the word *senior* in paragraph 7, where *Etiam certe senior aetate sed validus fide* emphasizes the fact that though rather old, Theodsius led his army to victory. He was, however, according to Tillemont only about forty-nine at the time.[5] The condition of Theodosius in private and imperial life is presented by a very brief summary in 53. The description of the mourners, so common a device for supplying added motives to the θρῆνος, may be seen in 54, *Fles Honori germen augustum, et lacrymis pium testificaris affectum.* The description in the opening paragraph is a noteworthy illustration of the custom among the pagan writers, of making natural phenomena forerunners and partakers of human sorrow. Here earthquakes, rain, and unusual darkness are cited as harbingers of the sad event, and Ambrose says that the very elements mourned the premature death of the Emperor.[6]

While the De Obitu Theodosii Oratio shows the influence of the classical training of Ambrose and passages can be selected as admirable copies of parts of the pattern of Menander, a neat division according to the stereotyped plan of an ἐπιτάφιος λόγος does not seem possible, owing to the numerous exegetical digressions which are introduced apparently neither as θρῆνοι nor ἔπαινοι, but from the desire to seize a favorable opportunity for teaching a lesson; such exhortations moreover have their source in the Bible, and

[2] Hubbell, 264.
[3] De Ob. Th. 15.
[4] De Ob. Th. 38.
[5] Tillemont, Emp. V, 191.
[6] De Ob. Th. 1.

not in some virtuous deed of Theodosius. Yet Ambrose frequently brings himself back to his subject by a paragraph that may rightly be considered a θρῆνος. Cf. 6, *Ergo tantus imperator recessit a nobis.* Cf. also 35, *Dilexi ergo, fateor, et ideo dolorem meum intimo viscere dolui.*

According to Rosynski[7] the form of the De Obitu Theodosii Oratio is distinctly that of a Christian funeral oration rather than of the panegyrics of the Eastern bishops. He suggests that if it were not for the digressions and for the fact that Ambrose does not announce an intention of comforting his hearers, as he does so announce in the Satyrus and in the De Obitu Valentiniani, this present oration might be considered a *consolatio* or λόγος παραμύθικος. It should perhaps be here objected that Ambrose expressly states the purpose of comforting himself. Cf. 35, *et prolixiore sermonis prosecutione solandum putavi.*

Rosynski suggests also that the scheme fits in more naturally with the ἐγκώμιον of Polybius in which the family of the deceased, τὸ γένος, is mentioned not, as according to Menander, in the beginning but toward the end. Polybius in describing a funeral ceremony tells of details introduced to inspire the mourners with patriotism as well as with grief for the deceased, mentioning in this connection a procession wearing masks which represents a long line of the country's illustrious dead. A son or near relative recounts the achievements of the lately deceased in order to show the greatness of the loss sustained by the survivors; so that not only those who had a share in these achievements, but all the auditors may be moved to sympathy. Next passing to the heroic exploits of those whose images are present, the speaker recounts such noble deeds as have rendered their authors immortal. The constant repetition of such eulogies was intended to keep a high incentive before the minds of the people, that they too might strive toward the heights of heroism, and thus lay up a rich inheritance for future generations.[8]

The purpose of the present treatise, as well as the probable result produced, are not unlike those indicated by the foregoing exposition. In contrast to it, however, a comparison with a Christian funeral oration framed on the plan of Menander may not be

[7] Cf. Rosynski, 26 ff.
[8] Cf. Polybius 6, 53, 54.

out of place. The scheme of one written and delivered by Gregory of Nyssa (cf. Bauer 75) is convenient for the purpose. This panegyric in honor of the Empress Flacilla, wife of Theodosius, forms an interesting parallel for the oration in honor of the Emperor himself.

Gregory of Nyssa.	Ambrose.
I. *προίμιον.*	
Difficulties of the task because of the freshness of grief.	Nature mourns the deceased. 1. Contrast between the deceased and survivors. 2. Digression with discussion of Biblical customs for burials. 3.
II. *τὰ ἐγκώμια* with *θρῆνος.*	
1. *θρῆνος.*	
a) The oration must be attuned to the feelings of the moment.	Comparison of Theodosius with Jacob—his good works, benefits conferred on his people. Mourning lightened by trust in his sons. 4-6.
b) This misfortune greater than all others.	
2. *ἔπαινος.*	
a) Union of all virtues in the Empress.	Virtues of Theodosius, faith, moderation, humility, mercy, love of God. 8-29. Digressions, in 9 by discussion of faith of the patriarchs; in 21, exposition of prayer though offered in silence; in 22 by exhortation to gratitude for benefits of God; in 24, 25, 26, 27, by an exposition of human weakness, of mercy, justice and humility.
b) Her individual virtues.	
3. *θρῆνος.*	
a) Reproaches against the place of the death and the magnitude of loss.	The motives for mourning as in (a-d) are absent from this oration.
b) The whole age should mourn.	
c) This misfortune is a punishment for sin.	
d) Nature, that is, God shares in the mourning as well as man.	The grief of the orator is expressed by the greatness of his love for the deceased, and made practical by prayers for his soul. 35, 36.

Gregory of Nyssa.	Ambrose.
III. *παραμυθία.*	
Transition to Consolation.	
1. Beatitude. In heaven no need for mourning.	Happiness of heaven contrasted with earthly trials. 30-32.
a) The Empress still lives.	Reward of religious zeal—joys of future life 37-40.
b) Value of present life.	
c) Value of future life.	
2. Proof that the deceased is happy.	
a) Charity toward prisoners.	a) } These topics discussed in
b) Toward the condemned.	b) } 12-13.
c) Her humility.	c) Mercy, humility, meekness gain the love of the Lord. The Emperor's humility striking in his public penance. 33-34.
d) Her conjugal love.	Praise of predecessors. 41-51.
e) Her perfect faith.	

The concluding paragraphs of the De Ob. Th. correspond closely to the last part of the eulogy of Miletius as may be seen from the following:

Miletius.	
ἡ παράκλησις.	
1. Beatitude.	Theodosius and Gratian enjoy heavenly bliss. In labor here; there in rest. 52-53.
2. Funeral obsequies.	
ἡ ἔκφορὰ ἡ σύνοδος τῆς πόλεως.	Exhortation and consolation for Honorius. 54-56.
	The transporting of the body to Constantinople for burial. 54.
	The desire of the prince to accompany the corpse.
	The honors awaiting the remains of him who has become a citizen of Paradise. 56.

The idea of consolation in the eulogy for Flacilla is so much more prominent than in that for Theodosius that the latter can by no means be considered as conforming to it in type. In general, with the exception of the conclusion, the conformity is closer than in the oration for Miletius. What has been said before in regard to exegetical digressions applies no less to the present attempt to group the various paragraphs under definite headings. In some of them a line only may suit the topic and the rest of the paragraph be an elaboration of a Scriptural text, rather for the in-

struction of the living than for the praise of the dead, or as a suggestion of motives for mourning or for consolation.

Though the eulogy centres around the virtues of Theodosius, and concrete examples are given of many of them, contrary to the custom of the panegyrist, Ambrose mentions two faults for which the deceased was noted. In regard to his hasty temper, the orator says that the anger of the Emperor was followed by forgiveness of the culprit provoking it, *cum fuisset commotio maior iracundiae* etc.[9] Then he calls attention to the great sin for which the public penance was performed, *peccatum suum confessus veniam postulavit;*[10] *peccatum suum quod ei aliorum fraude obrepserat.*[11] In both cases, however, Ambrose introduces the fault that it may redound to the Emperor's praise, for *per humilitatem pervenit ad salutem.*[12]

[9] De Ob. Th. 13.
[10] De Ob. Th. 27.
[11] De Ob. Th. 34.
[12] De Ob. Th. 27.

DE OBITU THEODOSII

ORATIO

1. Hoc nobis motus terrarum graves, hoc iuges pluviae minabantur, et ultra [1] solitum caligo tenebrosior denuntiabat [2] quod clementissimus imperator Theodosius excessurus [3] esset e terris. ipsa [4] igitur excessum eius elementa moerebant. coelum [5] tenebris obductum, aer perpeti horrens caligine, terra quatiebatur motibus replebatur aquarum [6] alluvionibus. quidni [7] mundus ipse defleret eum principem continuo esse rapiendum [8] per quem dura mundi [9] istius temperari solerent, cum [10] criminum [11] poenas indulgentia praeveniret.[12]

2. Et [1] ille quidem abiit accipere [2] sibi regnum, quod non deposuit sed mutavit, in [3] tabernacula Christi iure pietatis [4] adscitus, in illam Hierusalem supernam,[5] ubi nunc positus dicit: *sicut* [6] *audivimus, ita* et *vidimus in civitate Domini virtutum, in civitate Dei nostri,* quam *Deus fundavit in aeternum.* sed [7] plurimos tamquam paterno destitutos praesidio dereliquit,[8] ac potissimum filios. sed [9] non sunt destituti quos [10] pietatis suae reliquit haeredes; non sunt destituti quibus Christi adquisivit gratiam et exercitus [11] fidem, cui documento fuit Deum favere [12] pietati ultoremque esse perfidiae.

3. Eius ergo, principis et proxime conclamavimus [1] obitum, et nunc quadragesimam [2] celebramus adsistente [3] sacris altaribus Honorio [4] principe. quia sicut sanctus Ioseph patri suo Iacob quadraginta [5] diebus humationis [6] officia detulit, ita et hic Theodosio patri justa persolvit. et quia alii tertium diem et trigesimum alii septimum et quadragesimum observare consueverunt quid doceat lectio [7] consideremus. defuncto itaque Iacob, *praecepit,*[8] inquit, *Ioseph pueris sepultoribus ut sepelirent eum, et sepelierunt sepultores Israel; et repleti sunt ei quadraginta dies, sic enim dinumerantur dies sepulturae. et luxit eum Aegyptus septuaginta diebus.*

1 nobis] vobis G. minabantur] minebantur F. 2 denuntiabat] denunciabat AFG. 3 excessurus esset] recessurus est A recessurus esset BCDEFG. igitur] ergo F. 4 elementa] om. F moerebant] merebant ABCDG merebat F. (DEFG have no diphthongs. Henceforth such words will not be noted.) 5 replebatur] om. E. 6 rapiendum] rapiebat F. 7 mundi istius] istius mundi F. solerent] solent ABCDEFG. 9 accipere] om. BCDEG. regnum] regnumque BCDG. quod] om. BCG. mutavit] mutabit CG. 10 adscitus] ascitus AC. 11 vidimus] BCDEF Itala videmus AG Ben. ed. et] om. F. 12 domini] Dei F. 13 tamquam] tanquam A. praesidio] add. et CG. 14 potissimum] potissimos BCEG. 15 haeredes] heredes C. 16 pietati] pietate A. deum] domini G. 18 ergo] igitur D. proxime] proximae B. conclamavimus] cum clamavimus CG. 19 celebramus] caelebramus B. adsistente] asistente AD assistente C. 20 quia] qui ADF. sicut] om. CG. 21 officia] officio A. 21 hic] om. F. 22 et] alii F. trigesimum] tricesimum ABC. observare] servare F. 23 consueverunt] consuerunt ADF. 24 inquit] om. ABCDEFG. 24 sepultoribus ut] om. F. 25 sepelierunt] sepellierunt B sepulierunt D. 26 sepulturae] sepulture FG.

haec ergo sequenda solemnitas,[9] quam praescribit lectio.[10] sed etiam Deuteronomio scriptum est: quia *planxerunt*[11] *filii Israel Moysen diebus triginta et consummati sunt dies luctus.* utraque ergo observatio habet auctoritatem quia necessarium pietatis[12] impletur officium.

4. Bonus[1] itaque Ioseph, qui formam pio muneri dedit, quem amabat pater cuique[2] dixit: *adiuvet*[3] *te Deus meus,* et benedicat *te benedictione* terrae *habentis omnia, propter benedictionem* mamillarum *et vulvae,* benedictiones matris tuae, et propter *benedictiones patris tui.* pii patris soboles bona. celebrat[4] ergo et iste[5] quadragesimam[6] patris Iacob,[7] supplantatoris[8] illius, et nos celebramus Theodosii quadragesimam, qui[9] imitatus Iacob supplantavit perfidiam tyrannorum,[10] qui[11] abscondit simulacra[12] gentium; omnes[13] enim cultus[14] idolorum fides eius abscondit; omnes eorum ceremonias obliteravit; qui etiam iis, qui in se peccaverant, doluit[15] quam dederat periisse[16] indulgentiam[17] et veniam denegatam. sed[18] non negabunt filii quod donavit pater, non negabunt, etiamsi quidam[19] interturbare[20] conatus sit; neque enim poterunt negare quod[21] in commune donavit, qui solvunt quod singulis dedit.

5. Nihil[1] gloriosius exitus[2] tanti principis habuit, qui omnia iam filiis tradidisset, regnum,[3] potestatem, nomen[4] Augusti. nihil, inquam, speciosius[5] ei in morte servatum est, quam quod in aliquantis,[6] promissa[7] annonarum exigendarum relaxatio dum moratur, facta[8] est successio eius indulgentiarum haereditas, ut ille qui voluit impedire sibi[9] odium fecerit. Theodosio tamen, tantae cumulus gratiae non sit ademtus. nec immerito, si[10] enim privatorum ultimae voluntates, et deficientium testamenta, habent perpetem[11] firmitatem, quomodo potest tanti principis esse irritum testamentum? gloriosius quoque in eo Theodosius, qui[12] non communi iure testatus est, de filiis enim nihil[13] habebat novum quod conderet quibus[14] totum dederat, nisi ut eos praesenti[15] commendaret parenti. et de[16] subditis sibi et commissis testari debuit, ut[17] legata dimitteret, fidei[18] commissa signaret. praecepit dari legem indulgentiae quam scriptam reliquit. quid[19] dignius quam ut testamentum Imperatoris lex sit?

1 ergo] add. est E igitur G. solemnitas] sollempnitas CE solempnitas D. sed] sicut G. Deuteronomio] deutheronomio B. 3 consummati] consumati DE. diebus triginta] inv. G. 4 quia] qua ABCDEF. 5 Ioseph] iosep D. 6 pater] patri G. cuique] cui ABDEFG. 7 benedictiones] benedictionis AB benedictione CG benedictionem F. 8 benedictiones] benedictionem ACDEFG. 9 celebrat] caelebrat BC. supplantatoris] subplantatoris BCG. Iacob] Ioseph G. 10 celebramus] caelebramus BC servamus F. illius] om. F. imitatus Iacob] inv. A cum Iacob imitatus BCEFG. 11 supplantavit] subplantavit C. 12 omnes] omnis AC. gentium] gentilium G. 13 ceremonias] caeremonias C. iis] his ABCD EFG. qui etiam] quin etiam G. 14 periisse] perisse CDEFG. 15 quidam] quidem F. 18 nihil] nichel ACF. omnia] cum omnia A. 19 augusti] augusto F. nihil] nichel ACF. 20 in aliquantis promissa] immane quantis praemisit A imane quantus B inmane quantis CEG. 21 moratur] moritur A. 23 tantae] ante F. sit ademtus] ademptus sit ABCDEG. 26 in eo Theodosius] in Theodosio BCDEF. 27 testatus est] testatus sit ABCDEFG. nihil] nichel ACF. conderet] crederet F. 29 et] om. ABCDFG. dimitteret] committeret G. 30 dari] dare CEG.

6. Ergo tantus imperator [1] recessit a nobis, sed non totus recessit, reliquit enim nobis liberos suos, in [2] quibus eum debemus agnoscere, et in quibus eum et cernimus et tenemus. nec moveat aetas; fides [3] militum [4] imperatoris perfecta est aetas; est enim perfecta [5] aetas ubi perfecta est virtus. reciproca [6] haec; quia et fides [7] imperatoris militum virtus est.

7. Recognoscitis nempe, quos [1] vobis Theodosii fides triumphos adquisiverit. cum [2] locorum [3] angustiis et impedimentis calonum agmen exercitus paulo serius in aciem descenderet, et inequitare [4] hostis mora belli videretur, desilivit [5] equo princeps, et ante aciem solus progrediens, ait: ubi [6] est Theodosii Deus? iam [7] hoc Christo proximus loquebatur. quis enim posset hoc dicere, nisi qui Christo [8] se adhaerere [9] cognosceret? quo [10] dicto excitavit omnes, et exemplo omnes armavit. et iam certe, senior [11] aetate, sed validus [12] fide.[13]

8. Theodosii [1] ergo fides fuit vestra victoria; vestra fides filiorum eius fortitudo sit. fides [2] ergo auget aetatem. denique nec [3] Abraham ut [4] in senectute generaret filium consideravit aetatem, nec Sara ut pareret. nec mirum si auget aetatem fides cum repraesentet futura. quid enim est *fides* [5] nisi *rerum* earum quae sperantur *substantia?* sic nos Scripturae [6] docent. ergo [7] si substantia eorum quae sperantur, fides est; quanto magis eorum, quae videntur? bona fides, de qua scriptum est: *iustus* [8] *autem ex fide vivit. quod si subtraxerit se non placebit animae meae.*

9. Nos [1] autem non [2] subtrahamus nos ad [3] dispendium animae, sed inhaereamus *fidei* ad *animae* nostrae *adquisitionem;* quoniam in [4] hac fidei militia testimonium consequuti sunt seniores nostri Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, et ideo haereditatem [5] nobis fidei reliquerunt. fidelis Abraham,[6] qui [7] non *ex operibus,* sed ex fide *iustificatus est,* quoniam *Deo credidit:* Isaac [8] qui per [9] fidem nec gladium feriturі parentis expavit: Iacob [10] qui

2 nobis] om. E. agnoscere] angnoscere F. 3 cernimus et tenemus] inv. D. 4 est aetas] inv. ABCG but F. omits est. 6 recognoscitis] recognoscetis ABCD EFG. adquisiverit] adquisierit A acquisiverit D. 7 calonum] colonum A. 8 inequitare] inquietare F. hostis] hostes E. 9 videretur] videret G. desilivit] desiluit AE. equo] aequo C. 11 posset] possit ACEF. Christo se] inv. A. adhaerere cognosceret] adhereret congnosceret F. 12 dicto] dictu A. et] om. ABCDEFG. et iam] etiam CE. 14 Theodosii ergo fides . . . fortitudo sit] om. ABCDEFG. 15 nec Abraham . . . consideravit] Abraham . . . non consideravit F. 17 enim est] inv. ABCDEFG. 18 rerum earum] inv. DF. 21 subtraxerit] ABCDEFG Itala substraxerit Ben. ed. meae] sue G. 22 subtrahamus] subtrahimus F. 23 adquisitionem] acquisitionem F. quoniam] quomodo DE. 24 militia] milicia C. consequuti] consequti A consecuti E. 25 nobis] om. F. Abraham] Abraam BG Abraheam E.

paternae fidei vestigiis intentus, dum iter agit, angelorum vidit exercitum et vocavit [11] concilium Dei.

10. Alibi quoque, id est, in libris Regnorum, Elisaeus erat intra Samariam, et subito eum [1] circumfusus Syrorum obsedit exercitus. vidit eos Giezi et ait [2] ad dominum suum: *o* [3] *domine, quid faciemus? et dixit Elisaeus* propheta: *noli timere* quoniam *nobiscum plures sunt quam cum illis.* et rogavit ut aperiret Dominus oculos Giezi. et aperti sunt oculi eius, et *vidit* plenum montem *equis et curribus in* circuitu *Elisaei.* et rogavit Elisaeus ut percuteret eos Deus caecitate, et percussi sunt, et introierunt in civitatem quo ingrederentur, nequaquam videntes. audistis [4] certe, milites qui circumfusi estis, quia ubi [5] perfidia, ibi caecitas est. merito [6] ergo caecus erat exercitus infidelium. ubi autem fides, ibi exercitus angelorum est. bona [7] itaque fides quae frequenter operatur [8] in mortuis. denique adversarius [9] et legiones suae quotidiana martyrum virtute torquentur. unde [10] arbitror quod fila [11] chordarum citharae ideo *fides* [12] dicantur, quoniam et mortua sonum reddant.

11. Quo [1] magis ac magis enitendum est, ne in hoc vivendi munere siti simus ingrati; sed pii pignoribus [2] principis sedulum ac patrium impendamus affectum.[3] solvite filiis eius quod debetis patri; plus [4] debetis defuncto quam debuistis viventi. etenim si [5] in liberis privatorum, non sine gravi scelere, minorum iura temerantur, quanto magis in filiis imperatoris?

12. Addatur [1] eo cuius imperatoris! imperatoris pii, imperatoris misericordis, imperatoris fidelis, de quo non [2] mediocre loquuta est Scriptura [3] dicens: magnum[4] et honorabile est homo misericors; *invenire* autem *virum fidelem* difficile est. si magnum est misericordem aut fidelem quemcumque hominem invenire, quanto [5] magis imperatorem quem potestas ad ulciscendum impellit, sed revocat tamen ab ultione [6] miseratio? quid[7] prae-

1 vidit exercitum] inv. F. 3 regnorum] regum F. Elisaeus] heliseus AG. 4 eum] om. A. Syrorum obsedit] inv. G. 5 Giezi] Gieçi G. 6 Elisaeus propheta] ad eum propheta F. 7 dominus] deus BDEF. oculos] occulos B. sunt] om. A. 8 plenum montem] inv. F. Elisaei] elisei B elysei E. 10 quo ingrederentur] om. F. 13 frequenter operatur] in mortuis frequenter A. 14 denique] add. et A. quotidiana] cotidiana ABDEF. 15 torquentur] torquetur E. unde arbitror] om. G. ideo] om. G. 16 reddant] reddat F. 17 enitendum] enitandum F. siti] om. A. 18 simus] scimus G. 20 liberis] libris F. 23 eo] et CE. addatur . . . imperatoris] om. DFG. imperatoris pii imperatoris misericordis imperatoris fidelis] imperatoris fidelis imperatoris pii imperatoris misericordis D. 24 loquuta] locuta ADG. 25 dicens] om. F. 26 quemcumque] que cumque F. 28 revocat] revocet CE.

stantius fide imperatoris, quem non extollat potentia, superbia non erigat, sed pietas inclinet?[7][8] de quo praeclare Salomon ait: *iniqui*[9] *regis minitatio similis rugitui leonis; sicut autem ros in herba, sic et hilaritas eius.* quantum[10] igitur est deponere terrorem potentiae, praeferre suavitatem gratiae?

13. Beneficium[1] se putabat accepisse augustae[2] memoriae Theodosius cum[3] rogaretur ignoscere et tunc propior[4] erat veniae cum fuisset commotio maior iracundiae. praerogativa ignoscendi erat indignatum fuisse, et optabatur[5] in eo, quod in aliis timebatur, ut irasceretur. hoc erat remedium reorum, quoniam cum haberet supra omnes potestatem quasi[6] parens expostulare malebat, quam quasi iudex punire. saepe trementes vidimus, quos obiurgabat, et convictos sceleris, cum desperassent solutos crimine. vincere enim volebat, non[7] plectere[8] aequitatis[9] iudex, non poenae arbiter, qui numquam veniam confitenti[10] negaret; aut si quid esset quod occulta conscientia involveret, Deo servabat. hanc vocem eius homines magis quam poenam timebant, quod tanta[11] imperator ageret verecundia, ut mallet sibi homines religione quam timore adstringere.

14. Maximum[1] philosophorum impunitatem ferunt dedisse iis facinoribus quae per[2] iram commissa forent; sed Scriptura[3] divina melius ait: *irascimini*[4] *et nolite peccare.* maluit peccatum recidere quam excusare. satius[5] est in indignatione[6] laudem clementiae reperire, quam ira in ultionem excitari.

15. Quis[1] ergo dubitabit filiis eius apud[2] Dominum maximum praesidium fore? Domino favente, Arcadius imperator iam validus[3] iuventa est; Honorius[4] continuo pulsat adolescentiae fores provectior[5] aetate quam Iosias. ille enim destitutus patre, orsus imperium usque ad tricesimum[6] et primum annum regni sui perduxit aetatem, et placuit Domino, quoniam[7] prae caeteris regibus Israel Domini pascha celebravit, et ceremoniarum abolevit errores. Asa quoque adhuc invalidus corporis robore

1 potentia] potentia imperatoris F. 3 sic et] ita FG. 4 praeferre] praeferrae B. 7 erat] fuit F. 8 ignoscendi erat] inv. G. 9 in eo] in aliis eo F. 10 reorum] ipsorum F. 11 expostulare] expostulari BCEG. 13 poenae] paene CG. 14 quid] quod F. 15 homines] om. F. 16 magis] amplius ABCDEFG. poenam] paenam A. 17 mallet] malet G. adstringere] astringere A. 18 philosophorum] phylosophorum G. ferunt] fere G. iis] his ABCDEFG. 19 quae] qui G. 21 satius] satis AFG. indignatione] indignationem AB. ira] irae ABCG ire DF. 23 dubitabit] dubitavit G. dominum] deum F. 24 iuventa] inventae C. 26 tricesimum et primum] tricesimum primum F trigesimum et primum G. 27 aetatem om. F. 28 quoniam] quia F. pascha] pasca FG 29 Asa] Asaph ABEF. robore] regnandi G.

cum regnandi curricula recepisset, quadraginta [8] annis [9] regnavit in Hierusalem; qui cum Aethiopum infinita [10] urgeretur atque innumerabili multitudine, speravit a Domino et in paucis se posse salvari. utinam [11] tam fidelis processu quam devotus [12] exordio! nam servatus in paucis et victor, postea a Syris auxilia, relicto Domino, postulavit, et medicos adhibuit ad pedum dolorem; accepto enim tanto indicio divini favoris, auxiliatorem [13] suum derelinquere [14] non debuit sed tenere. ideo ei nec medici profuerunt, et quasi incredulus [15] mortem implevit.

16. Sed illorum patres Abias [1] et Amos ambo infideles.[2] Theodosius vero plenus timoris Dei, plenus misericordiae, speramus [3] quod liberis suis apud Christum praesul adsistat, si [4] Dominus propitius sit rebus humanis. bonum est misericors homo, qui dum aliis [5] subvenit sibi consulit, et in [6] alieno remedio vulnera sua curat. agnoscit [7] enim se esse hominem qui [8] novit ignoscere, et vias Christi sequitur qui, carne suscepta, maluit in hunc mundum Redemptor [9] venire quam Iudex.

17. Unde pulcre psalmista dixit: *dilexi* [1] *quoniam exaudiet Dominus vocem orationis meae.* in quo psalmo dum legitur, velut [2] ipsum Theodosium loquentem audivimus. dilexi,[3] inquit, agnosco [4] vocem piam, cuius testimonia vocis agnosco. et vere dilexit qui [5] officia [6] diligentius [7] implevit, qui servavit hostes, qui [8] dilexit inimicos, qui iis a quibus est appetitus ignovit, qui [9] regni affectatores [10] perire non est passus. non mediocris [11] sed perfecti in Lege vox ista est dicere: dilexi, *plenitudo* [12] enim *Legis dilectio est.* sed quid dilexerit audiamus. cum tacetur [13] genus dilectionis, utique divinae caritatis gratia significatur, qua diligimus illud quod est super omnia [14] desiderabilia desiderabile, de quo scriptum est: *diliges* [15] *Dominum Deum tuum.*

18. Ergo discedens [1] e terris pia [2] anima, et sancto repleta Spiritu, quasi interrogantibus iis qui sibi occurrerunt, cum sese [3] ad sublimia et superna subrigeret,[4] dicebat: [5] *dilexi.* nihil [6] hoc plenius, nihil expressius.

2 qui] quoniam ABCDEFG. infinita] infinite G. urgeretur] urgueretur B. 3 speravit] desperavit A. et in paucis . . . relicto Domino] om. ABCDEFG. 7 derelinquere non debuit] non debuit derelinquere BCDEFG. 9 Abias] Abdias CEG. Amos] Amon F. 11 propitius] propicius A. Adsistat] assistat F. 12 dum] cum F. consulit] contulit BCDEFG. 13 curat] sanat G. enim se] se etiam F. agnoscit] agnovit F. 15 redemptor] redemptorum G. 16 pulcre] pulchrae C. exaudiet] audiet BCDEF. 17 legitur] legimus F. 18 inquit] inquid B. 19 diligentius] diligentis ABDG. qui] quod G. 20 qui] om. D. iis] his ABCDEFG. ignovit] agnovit C. perire] om. F. est passus] inv. ABCDEFG. 22 perfecti] perfectum D. 23 dilectio est] inv. G. sed quid dilexerit] sed quia dilectio sed quid dilexerit G. tacetur genus] tacet urget nos ABCDFG urguet E. 24 caritatis] caritatisque F. qua] quia ABCDEFG. 27 discedens] descendens G ascendens DF. pia] om. ABCDEFG. 28 iis] his ABCDEFG. occurrerunt] occurrerent ABCDEFG. 29 nihil] nichel ACF. hoc plenius] inv. CG.

interrogabant angeli vel archangeli, quid [7] egisti in terris? occultorum [8] enim solus cognitor Deus. dicebat, *dilexi;* [9] hoc est dicere; Legem implevi, Evangelium [10] non praeterivi; hoc est dicere: *morti* [11] me obtuli, et *tota die* aestimatus sum sicut *ovis occisionis.* et ideo confido, *quia neque mors, neque vita, neque angeli, neque virtutes, neque altitudo, neque profundum, neque creatura alia poterit nos separare a caritate Dei, quae est in Christo Iesu Domino nostro.*

19. Hoc mandatum Legis etiam in Evangelio [1] Dominus Iesus docet esse servandum, cum dicit [2] ad Petrum: *Simon* [3] *Iohannis, diligis me?* et ille respondit: *tu scis Domine quia* diligo *te,* et [4] iterum dixit: *Simon Iohannis diligis me?* et iterum respondit: *etiam Domine, tu scis quia* diligo *te,* et tertio interrogatus, ait: *Domine omnia tu scis, tu nosti quia amo te,* confirmavit [5] itaque caritatem [6] trina responsio vel abolevit trinae negationis errorem. et hic trinam responsionem, si quaerimus, invenimus: *dilexi,*[7] *quoniam exaudiet Dominus vocem orationis meae. dilexi,* quoniam *inclinavit aurem suam mihi, ut in diebus meis* invocarem eum. *dilexi,* quia *tribulationem et dolorem inveni,* et pro nomine Dei mei *pericula inferni* non refugi, sed exspectavi ut comprehendere et invenire me possent.

20. Et pulcre ait: *dilexi,* quia iam cursum vitae huius impleverat. unde et Apostolus in passione [1] iam positus [2] ait: *certamen* [3] *bonum certavi, cursum consummavi, fidem servavi;* quod reliquum est *reposita est mihi corona iustitiae.* magnus Dominus qui nobis dedit certamina [4] quibus mereatur,[5] qui vicerit, coronari. dilexi, inquit confidens, *quoniam* [6] *exaudiet Dominus vocem orationis meae.*

21. *Dilexi* [1] et ideo *inclinavit aurem suam mihi,* ut iacentem [2] erigeret, mortuum resuscitaret.[3] non enim Deus inclinat aurem suam ut audiat corporaliter,[4] sed ut condescendat [5] nobis, quo nos audire [6] dignetur et infirmitatis nostrae relevare [7] substantiam. inclinat se nobis ut nostra [8]

1 vel] ut BC et DG. in terris] om. G. 2 cognitor] congnitor F. dicere] om. F. 3 praeterivi] preterivi A. dicere] om. F. obtuli] optuli BCE. 4 aestimatus] estimatus A. 6 dei] om. F. 8 etiam] aetiam C. etiam . . . Dominus Iesus docet] inv. F. 10 et iterum dixit . . . diligo te] om. F. 12 Domine] om. ABCD EFG. tu nosti] tu scis BCDEFG. 13 vel] ut C. abolevit] adolevit B abdolevit C. 15 exaudiet] audiet CDEFG. 16 mihi] michi F. 19 pulchre] pulchrae B. huius] sue F. 20 ait] est F. 21 consummavi] consumavi CG. mihi] michi F. 22 iustitiae] iusticiae C. 23 exaudiet] audiet ABCEG. 26 resuscitaret] suscitaret BCDEFG. suam] om. F. 27 quo] qui G. infirmitatis] infirmitatem A infirmitates BCDEFG. 28 relevare] irudare F revelare G. substantiam] substantiae ABCDEG.

ad eum adscendat oratio. voce non indiget qui misericordiam defert; neque enim voce indiguit qui [9] Mosen tacentem audivit, et non loquentem [10] sed interpellantem gemitibus ineffabilibus [11] ad se clamare [12] dicebat. novit [13] Deus et sanguinem [14] audire cui nulla [15] vox subest lingua non suppetit; sed accepit [16] vocem sacrae titulo [17] passionis. clamavit [18] in martyrio,[19] clamavit in parricidio,[20] quod pertulit pro [21] sacrificio.

22. *Dilexi,*[1] inquit, et ideo diligens feci voluntatem Domini, et invocavi eum non in [2] paucis,[3] sed in omnibus diebus vitae meae. nam certis diebus invocare, non omnibus, fastidientis [4] est, non sperantis, et pro usu affluentium commodorum mercedem gratiarum referre, non pro devotionis affectu. et ideo Paulus: *in* [5] *omnibus,* inquit, *gratias agite.* quando [6] enim non habes quod Deo debeas? aut quando sine Dei munere es, cui quotidie [7] vivendi usus a Domino est? *quid* [8] enim *habes, quod non accepisti?* ergo quia semper accipis semper invoca, et quia [9] quod habes a Domino est, debitorem te semper esse cognosce. malo tamen ut quasi [10] diligens,[11] quam coactus debitum [12] tuum solvas.

23. Audis dicentem: [1] *circumdederunt* [2] *me* [3] *dolores mortis?* ego tamen et in mortis dolore Dominum dilexi, *pericula inferni invenerunt me,* non [4] timentem utique, sed amantem, sed sperantem, quod nullae [5] me angustiae, nulla persecutio, nulla pericula, nullus gladius separet a Christo. denique volens invenit tribulationem et dolorem, sciens [6] quia *tribulatio* [7] *patientiam operatur, patientia probationem, probatio spem.* etenim quasi [8] bonus athleta quaesivit certamina ut coronam inveniret, quam tamen non [9] suis viribus sed Domini auxilio novit sibi esse donatam. non enim potuisset vincere, nisi eum qui certantes [10] adiuvat invocasset.

24. Miser [1] homo congreditur, ut vincat; et ipse in [2] periculum ruit nisi Domini nomen [3] adfuerit, nisi cum veretur, oraverit dicens: *o* [4] *Domine libera animam meam.* hinc illud [5] apostolicum: *video* [6] *legem* carnis meae *repugnantem legi mentis meae, et captivantem me in lege peccati,*

1 adscendat] ascendat CE descendat G. qui] quia D. 2 qui] qua E. 4 deus] dominus G. vox subest] vox est subest G. 5 titulo] om. A. 11 affectu] affectum B. 12 aut quando . . . munere es] om. ABCFG. quotidie] cotodie AG cottidie BCDEF. 13 vivendi] om. CDEFG. 15 cognosce] cognosce F. te semper] inv. G. 18 dolore] dolorem G. 19 amantem] amante F. nullae] velle F. 20 nullus gladius] om. F. separet] separat DEG. 21 invenit] inveni D. 22 patientiam] pacientiam C. 23 athleta] adtleta C adleta F. 26 ipse in periculum] periculum ipse A. 27 domini nomen] inv. A. nisi] si BCEFG. 28 hinc illud] hinc est illud A. 29 in lege] BCDFG Itala in legem AE Ben. ed.

quod est in membris meis. infelix ego homo! quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius? gratia Dei per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

25. Ille [1] vincit qui gratiam Dei sperat, non qui de sua virtute praesumit. cur [2] enim non praesumas gratiam, cum habeas praesulem certaminis misericordem. *misericors* [3] enim *et iustus Dominus, et Deus noster miseretur.* bis [4] misericordiam posuit, semel iustitiam. in [5] medio iustitia est, gemino septo inclusa misericordiae. superabundant [6] enim peccata, superabundet ergo misericordia. apud Dominum omnium virtutum abundantia [7] est, quia [8] *Dominus virtutum est.* neque [9] tamen iustitia sine misericordia est, neque sine miseratione iustitia, quia scriptum est: *noli* [10] *esse* nimium *iustus.* quod [11] supra mensuram est, etsi bonum est, tamen tu non sustines. mensuram [12] serva, ut secundum mensuram recipias.

26. Non impedivit [1] tamen iustitiam misericordia, quia misericordia ipsa iustitia est. *dispersit* [2] *dedit pauperibus, iustitia eius manet in* aeternum. novit enim iustus debere se infirmis atque inopibus subvenire. unde Dominus veniens [3] ad baptismum,[4] ut nobis infirmantibus peccata [5] donaret, ait [6] ad Johannem: *sine* [7] *modo, sic enim decet nos implere omnem iustitiam.* liquet igitur iustitiam [8] esse misericordiam, et misericordiam esse iustitiam, etenim si Dei nos misericordia non sustentaret, quomodo [9] in ipso exordio parvuli viveremus, cum effusi [10] utero de [11] calidis in frigida, de humidis in arida, piscium [12] more iactemur, quos naufragos [13] in hanc vitam quidam velut [14] naturae [15] fluctus expuerit? ratio deest, sed gratia divina non deficit. ipse [16] ergo custodit parvulos, aut certe eos qui se parvulos humili confitentur affectu.

27. Bona [1] igitur humilitas quae liberat periclitantes,[2] iacentes erigit. novit eam ille qui dixit: *ecce* [3] *sum ego peccavi!* et *ego* [4] *pastor male feci,* et isti in hoc grege, *quid fecerunt?* fiat *manus tua* in *me.* bene hoc dicit qui regnum suum Deo subiecit, et poenitentiam gessit, et peccatum suum confessus veniam postulavit. ipse per humilitatem pervenit ad salutem.[5]

1 liberabit] liberavit BF. 2 Iesum] om F. 3 virtute] fiducia G. praesumit] praesumitur DF. 4 enim] est D. 5 deus] dominus G. 6 miseretur] miserebitur G. iustitiam] iusticiam A. iustitia] iusticiae B. 7 gemino septo inclusa] inclusa gemina septa A gemino septa BCG. superabundant] superhabundant G superabundat F. superabundet] super habundet D superhabundet G. 8 ergo] add. et DF. abundantia] habundantia DG. 10 iustitia] iusticia ACF. est] om. F. 12 recipias] recipies F. 13 impedivit] impedit ABCDEFG. iustitiam misericordia] iustitia misericordiam ABCDEFG. misericordia ipsa] inv. A. 14 aeternum] saeculum saeculi DF. 15 infirmis] infirmibus BCDEG. atque] et G. infirmis atque inopibus] inv. F. 17 decet] docet F. 18 et misericordiam] om. CDFG. 19 nos misericordia] inv. FG. 20 viveremus] videremus AC. de] om. G. 21 quos] quo F. 22 velut] om. BCDEG. naturae fluctus expuerit] expuerit nature fluxus F. 23 gratia divina] inv. AF. deficit] defecit ADEFG. 24 humili confitentur] inv. A. 26 ecce sum ego peccavi] ecce ego sum qui peccavi G. 28 poenitentiam] penitentiam A.

humiliavit [6] se Christus ut omnes elevaret. ipse ad Christi pervenit requiem, qui humilitatem Christi fuerit [7] sequutus.

28. Et ideo quia humilem [1] se praebuit Theodosius imperator, et ubi peccatum [2] obrepsit veniam postulavit, conversa est anima eius in requiem suam, sicut habet Scriptura, quae dicit: *convertere* [3] *anima mea in requiem tuam, quia Dominus benefecit tibi.* pulcre dicit animae, *convertere,* quasi [4] diuturno cuiusque operis sudore exercitae, ut a [5] labore convertatur ad requiem. convertitur [6] equus ad stabulum ubi cursum impleverit; navis ad portum, ubi ad [7] stationem fidam, a fluctuum mole subducitur. sed quid est, quod ait, *in requiem tuam,* nisi secundum [8] illud intelligas quod ait Dominus Iesus: *venite* [9] *benedicti Patris mei* haereditate *possidete paratum vobis regnum* a *constitutione mundi?* tamquam enim possessionem haereditariam recipimus ea quae promissa sunt nobis fidelis [10] enim Deus qui semel [11] servis suis praeparata [12] non subtrahit. si [13] fides nostra maneat, manet et sponsio.

29. Vide,[1] o homo, circa te gratiam Christi. adhuc [2] in terris quateris, et in caelo possides. *ibi,*[3] ergo, sit *cor tuum, ubi est* possessio tua. haec est requies quae iustis [4] debetur, negatur indignis. unde ait Dominus: sicut *iuravi* [5] *in ira mea, si introibunt in requiem meam;* qui [6] enim non cognoverunt vias Domini, non ingrediuntur in requiem Domini, qui [7] autem *bonum certamen certavit et cursum consummavit,* ipsi dicitur, *convertere* [8] *in requiem tuam.* bona requies praeterire quae [9] mundi sunt et illis [10] quae supra mundum sunt, coelestibus [11] consortiis requiescere secretorum. haec est requies ad quam propheta properavit,[12] dicens: *quis* [13] *dabit mihi pennas sicut columbae et volabo et requiescam?* hanc sanctus [14] requiem suam novit; ad hanc requiem convertendum animae suae dicit. erat ergo anima in requie sua, ad quam dicit esse redeundum. haec [15] est requies Sabbati [16] magni ut unusquisque [17] sanctorum [18] supra mundi sensibilia [19] sit, in illo intelligibili [20] secreto totus intentus atque adhaerens [21] Deo. haec [22] est requies illa Sabbati, quo requievit Deus ab omnibus operibus mundi [23] istius.

2 humilitatem Christi] inv. DF. fuerit] fuerat E. sequutus] secutus AG. 5 mea] om. B. anima mea] animam meam F. 6 tibi] mihi ABEG. pulchre] pulchrae BC. 7 cuiusque operis sudore exercitae] quoque exercitate A cuiusque exercitae BD cuiusque exercitae labore CE. exercitae] om. FG. 8 convertitur] convertite F. stabulum] salutem ABCDEFG. ubi] om. G. 10 in requiem tuam] ad requiem meam ABCDEF. intelligas] intellegas BE. 11 haereditate] hereditate A hereditatem G. 12 tamquam] tanquam A. possessionem haereditariam recipimus ea] possessione de qua recipimus A possessionem de qua recipimus BCDE. 14 qui] que E. praeparata] praeparat CEG. 16 vide o] video C vide DF. 17 est] om. ADFG. 19 sicut] sic A. 24 propheta] om. ABCDEF. dicens] dives A. 25 et requiescam] e requiescam E. 26 convertendum] convertendam ABCEFG. animae suae] animam suam A. 27 esse redeundum] inv. G. 29 in illo] nullo G. adhaerens] adherens A. 30 requies illa] inv. ACDEFG. deus] om. ABCEFG. 31 mundi istius] mundi istius feriatus CEG mundi huius DF.

30. Feriatus[1] his saeculi[2] curis Theodosius[3] se ereptum gaudet et elevat animam suam atque ad illam perpetuam dirigit requiem, pulcre sibi consultum adserens, quod *eripuerit*[4] *animam* eius Deus *de morte,* quam mortem frequenter in hoc saeculi[5] istius lubrico sustinebat, inquietus[6] fluctibus peccatorum; eripuerit etiam oculos eius a lacrymis, *fugiet*[7] enim *dolor et* tristitia et *gemitus.* et alibi habemus: delebit[8] *omnem lacrymam ab oculis eorum et mors non erit* amplius, *neque luctus, neque clamor, neque dolor.* si ergo mors non erit lapsum[9] sentire[10] non poterit, in[11] illa requie constitutus, sed placebit[12] Deo *in regione vivorum.* non[13] enim, ut hic homo involutus est mortis[14] corpore obnoxio lapsibus atque delictis,[15] ita et illic. ideoque regio[16] illa vivorum est ubi anima est quae *ad*[17] *imaginem*[18] *et similitudinem* Dei facta est, non caro[19] figurata de limo. ideo caro[20] in terram revertitur, anima ad requiem festinat supernam, cui dicitur, *convertere*[21] *anima mea in requiem tuam.*

31. In quam festinavit intrare Theodosius atque ingredi[1] civitatem Hierusalem de qua dictum est: *et reges*[2] *terrae* ferent *gloriam suam in illam.* illa est vera gloria quae[3] ibi sumitur, illud regnum[4] beatissimum quod ibi possidetur, ad quod festinabat Apostolus, dicens: *audemus*[5] *ergo* et consentimus *magis peregrinari* de *corpore et* adesse *ad Dominum; et ideo* connitimur *sive absentes sive praesentes placere illi.*

32. Absolutus[1] igitur dubio certamine fruitur[2] nunc augustae memoriae Theodosius luce perpetua tranquillitate diuturna, et pro iis quae in hoc gessit corpore remunerationis[3] divinae fructibus gratulatur.[4] ergo quia dilexit augustae memoriae Theodosius Dominum Deum suum, meruit sanctorum consortia.

33. Et ego, ut[1] quadam[2] sermonem meum peroratione concludam, dilexi virum misericordem, humilem[3] in imperio,[4] corde puro, et pectore mansueto praeditum, qualem Dominus amare consuevit, dicens: supra[5] quem requiescam nisi supra humilem et mansuetum?

1 saeculi] seculi A. 2 elevat] elevans ABCDEFG. atque . . . requiem] ad requiem illam perpetuam atque A ad illam perpetuam dirigere requiem BCDEFG. pulchre] pulchrae BCE om. DF. 3 adserens] asserens AC. quod] et quod A. deus] om. AD. de morte] a morte AD om. BCEG a morte Deus F. 4 saeculi] saeculo G. 5 etiam] om. ACEFG. fugiet] fugit ABCDEG fungit F. 6 tristitia] tristicia ACF. delebit] delevit ABCEFG. 9 in illa] in ipsa C. 10 atque] et G. 12 dei] om. EF. 13 terram] terra BEG. revertitur] revertit BDF. festinat] festinit. 16 ferent] afferent CG. 17 ibi] ubi G. 18 festinabat] festinavit F. 20 connitimur] conitimur AB. absentes sive praesentes] inv. F. 21 certamine] certamen BG. 22 iis] his ABCDEFG. in hoc gessit corpore] gessit in hoc corpore G. 23 remunerationis] munerationis F. gratulatur] congratulatur F. 24 Theodosius] om. F. 26 quadam] quidem ABCDEFG. peroratione] perorationem EFG. 29 et] atque ABCE. supra] om E.

34. Dilexi [1] virum qui magis arguentem [2] quam adulantem probaret. stravit [3] omne [4] quo utebatur insigne regium, deflevit in ecclesia publice [5] peccatum [6] suum, quod ei [7] aliorum fraude obrepserat, gemitu et lacrymis oravit veniam. quod [8] privati [9] erubescunt non erubuit Imperator, publice agere poenitentiam neque ullus postea dies fuit quo non illum doleret errorem. quid, quod praeclaram adeptus victoriam, tamen quia hostes in acie [10] prostrati sunt, abstinuit [11] a consortio sacramentorum [12] donec [13] Domini circa se gratiam filiorum experiretur adventu.

35. Dilexi [1] virum, qui [2] me in [3] supremis suis, ultimo spiritu requirebat. dilexi virum, qui cum iam corpore solveretur, magis de [4] statu Ecclesiarum quam de suis periculis angebatur. dilexi [5] ergo, fateor, et ideo dolorem [6] meum intimo viscere dolui, et prolixiore [7] sermonis prosecutione [8] solandum [9] putavi. dilexi et praesumo [10] de Domino quod suscipiat vocem [11] orationis meae qua prosequor animam piam.

36. *Circumdederunt* [1] *me dolores mortis pericula inferni invenerunt me;* multorum [2] enim pericula sunt, sed remedia paucorum. in [3] omnibus sacerdos [4] periclitatur; in omnibus reis angitur; quod [5] enim alii patiuntur ipse sustinet, et iterum [6] liberatur, cum alii qui tenentur periculis liberantur. conteror corde, quia ereptus est vir, quem vix possumus invenire. sed tamen tu solus Domine, invocandus es, tu rogandus ut eum [7] in filiis repraesentes, tu Domine, *custodiens* [8] etiam *parvulos* in hac humilitate, *salvos* [9] facito *sperantes in te.* da [10] requiem perfectam servo tuo Theodosio, requiem illam quam praeparasti sanctis tuis. illo convertatur anima eius unde descendit, ubi [11] mortis [12] aculeum sentire non possit, ubi cognoscat mortem hanc non naturae finem esse, sed culpae.[13] *quod* [14] *enim mortuus est peccato mortuus est,* ut iam peccato locus esse non possit, resurget [15] autem, ut perfectior renovato munere vita reparetur.[16]

37. Dilexi, et ideo prosequor eum usque ad [1] regionem vivorum, nec deseram donec,[2] fletu et precibus, inducam [3] virum quo sua merita vocant,

1 probaret] probavit FG. 2 omne quo] omnem quod B omne quod F. deflevit] flevit F. 7 hostes in acie prostrati sunt] in acie hostes strati sunt A irati sunt B inacies irati sunt CDFG in acie irati sunt E. 9 supremis] suppremis A. suis] om. G. 12 dolui] dolbi B. 14 qua] quia G. 16 me] om. E. 17 reis] rei BCG rebus E. 19 quia ereptus] quae reptus E. 21 custodiens] custodias D custodi F. in hac humilitate] in humilitate hac D humilitate ac F. 22 facito] facite F. da requiem] de que A. 23 requiem] add. enim F. sanctis] servis AF. 25 non naturae finem esse] natura non esse finem F. quod] qui F. 27 ut] et F. renovato] servato F. 28 nec] ne DG. regionem] religionem F. 29 et] om. BCDEF.

in [4] montem Domini sanctum, ubi [5] perennis vita, ubi corruptela [6] nulla, nulla contagio, nullus gemitus, nullus dolor, nullum consortium mortuorum, vera regio viventium, ubi *mortale* [7] *hoc* induat *immortalitatem,* et *corruptibile hoc* induat *incorruptionem.* magna requies quae votum impleat diligentis, pulcherrima promissio. ideo centesimus [8] quartus decimus psalmus, Alleluia, inscribitur. denique supra in quarto decimo psalmo perfectionem hominis accepimus. sed illic [9] formatus perfectus licet vir, sed adhuc peccato [10] obnoxius, quia vivit in saeculo.[11] hic [12] vera perfectio est ubi iam culpa cessavit, gratia [13] perpetuae quietis affulsit.[14]

38. Ideo centesimus quartus decimus psalmus quia remuneratio [1] caritatis est, unde Domini pascha [2] quartadecima luna formam celebritatis accepit, quoniam qui pascha celebrat debet [3] esse perfectus, debet amare Dominum Iesum, qui diligens populum suum perfecta caritate sese obtulit passioni.[4] et nos sic diligamus, ut si necesse fuerit, pro Domini nomine mortem [5] non fugiamus, nullum aestimemus dolorem, nihil metuamus; *perfecta* [6] enim *caritas timorem expellit foras.* grande [7] numeri mysterium, quando Pater Filium unicum pro nobis omnibus tradidit, cum pleno luminis sui orbe luna fulgeret.[8] ita [9] est enim Ecclesia quae pie [10] pascha celebrat Domini nostri Iesu Christi, *sicut* [11] *luna perfecta in aeternum* manet. quisquis [12] bene hic Domini pascha celebraverit in lumine perpetuo erit. quis [13] splendidius celebravit quam qui sacrilegos removit errores, clausit templa, simulacra destruxit? [14] in [15] hoc Iosias [16] rex superioribus antelatus est.

39. Manet [1] ergo in lumine [2] Theodosius et sanctorum coetibus gloriatur. illic nunc complectitur [3] Gratianum, iam sua vulnera non moerentem, quia invenit [4] ultorem; qui licet indigna morte praereptus sit requiem animae suae possidet. illic bonus uterque et pietatis [5] interpres largus misericordiae suae consortio delectantur. de [6] quibus bene dicitur, *dies* [7] *diei eructat verbum.* contra autem Maximus et Eugenius in inferno, quasi *nox nocti indicat scientiam;* docentes exemplo miserabili quam durum sit

1 perennis] perhennis FG. corruptela] corruptelae BC corruptele EFG. nulla] om. BCDEG. 2 nulla contagio] contagio nullus F. nullus gemitus] inv. F. nullum consortium] nulla consortia ABCDEG. 3 induat] induet A induit BCDFG. 4 induat] induet A induit DFG. requies] res DF. 5 promissio] possessio EF. 6 alleluia] om. ABCDEFG. denique] om. F. perfectionem] refectionem ACE. 7 formatus] add. et A. 8 adhuc] ad F. 9 affulsit] affluxit A adfulsit BG affulxit D. 11 domini pascha] inv. F. luna] lune F. 13 obtulit] optulit BC. 15 fugiamus] refugiamus A. aestimemus] estimemus AB. nihil] nichel AC om. F. 16 foras] foris BCDEG. expellit] expulit F. 17 filium unicum] inv. ABCEFG. 18 pie] pium A pia BDF. celebrat] caelebrat B. 20 domini] cum F. 21 clausit] clusit BCD. 24 coetibus] cetibus A. 25 Gratianum] gratia nunc D. moerentem] merentem AB. 26 praereptus sit] prereptus sit A. 27 illic] ille G. uterque] utique G. 28 misericordiae suae] misericordia suo A. 29 eructat verbum] eructuat A. et nox nocti indicat scientiam F.

arma suis principibus irrogare. de quibus, pulcre dicitur: *vidi*[8] *impium superexaltatum et elevatum*[9] *sicut cedros Libani, et transivi et, ecce, non erat.* transivit[10] enim, pius,[11] de[12] caligine saeculari ad lumen aeternum, et[13] non erat impius qui esse desivit iniquus.

40. Nunc, se augustae memoriae Theodosius regnare[1] cognoscit, quando in regno Domini Iesu Christi est, et considerat[2] templum eius. nunc sibi rex est, quando[3] recipit etiam filium[4] Gratianum et Pulcheriam, dulcissima sibi pignora[5] quae hic amiserat; quando ei[6] sua Flaccilla adhaeret, fidelis anima Deo; quando patrem sibi redditum gratulatur; quando Constantino adhaeret. cui licet baptismatis gratia in ultimis constituto, omnia peccata dimiserit, tamen quod[7] primus imperatorum credidit et post se haereditatem[8] fidei principibus dereliquit, magni meriti locum reperit. cuius temporibus completum est illud propheticum:[9] *in*[10] *illo die erit quod*[11] *super fraenum equi sanctum Domino omnipotenti,* quod illa sanctae memoriae Helena mater eius, infuso sibi Dei Spiritu revelavit.[12]

41. Beatus[1] Constantinus tali parente, quae, imperanti filio, divini muneris quaesivit auxilium, quo inter praelia quoque tutus adsisteret, et periculum non timeret. magna[2] femina, quae multo amplius invenit quod imperatori conferret, quam quod ab imperatore acciperet. anxia mater pro filio, cui regnum orbis Romani cesserat, festinavit Hierosolymam et scrutata est locum Dominicae[3] passionis.

42. Stabulariam[1] hanc, primo fuisse adserunt, sic cognitam Constantio seniori, qui postea regnum adeptus est. Bona[2] stabularia[3] quae tam diligenter praesepe Domini requisivit. Bona stabularia quae stabularium non ignoravit illum, qui vulnera[4] curavit a latronibus vulnerati.[5] bona stabularia quae maluit aestimari *stercora ut Christum* lucrifaceret. ideo illam Christus de[6] stercore levavit ad regnum, secundum[7] quod scriptum est: quia suscitat de *terra*[8] *inopem, et de stercore* erigit *pauperem.*

43. Venit ergo Helena, coepit revisere loca sancta. infudit ei Spiritus

1 irrogare] inrogare G. pulcre] pulchrae C. 2 sicut] super ABCEG. Libani] Libano A. 3 lumen] vitam F. 4 desivit] desinit F. 5 regnare cognoscit] regno recognoscit BE regno cognoscit CG congnoscat F. 6 domini Iesu Christi est] in regno est domini Jesu ABCDEFG. 7 dulcissima] dulcissimaque A. Pulcheriam] pulcherrima DF. 8 quae] quos ACDEFG. sua] om. ABCDG. adhaeret] adheret A. 9 anima] animo F. deo] om. A. patrem sibi redditum] sibi redditum patrem A. fidelis . . . Constantino adhaeret] om. G. 10 adhaeret] adheret A. ultimis] ultimo D. 11 dimiserit] dimiserat F. credidit] credit G. se] om. ABCEF. 12 reperit] repperit ACG. 13 completum] repletum F. illud propheticum] inv. ABCDEFG. 17 quo] quod A. praelia] prelia A. adsisteret] assisteret C. 19 conferret] deferret A. imperatore] imperatori G. 21 est] om. F. 20 Hierosolymam] ierosolima F hierosolimam G. 22 adserunt] asserunt AD. sic cognitam] sed coniunctam CG. Constantio] Constantino D. 24 praesepe] presepe A. bona stabularia . . . requisivit] om. E. 26 aestimari] estimari A. 27 illam Christus] inv. F. 28 suscitat] suscitavit A suscitat de] add. stercore G. erigit] erigens G. 29 loca sancta] inv. DF. spiritus] Christus DF.

ut lignum crucis requireret. accessit ad Golgotha et ait, ecce [1] locus [2] pugnae, ubi est victoria? quaero vexillum [3] salutis et non invenio. ego,[4] inquit, in regnis, et crux Domini in pulvere? ego in aureis, et in ruinis Christi triumphus? ille [5] adhuc latet, et latet palma vitae aeternae! quomodo me [6] redemtam arbitror si redemtio ipsa non cernitur?

44. Video [1] quid egeris diabole, ut gladius quo peremtus es obstrueretur. sed Isaac obstructos ab alienigenis puteos eruderavit,[2] nec latere aquam passus est. tollatur [3] igitur ruina, ut vita appareat. promatur gladius quo veri [4] Goliae caput est amputatum. aperiatur humus, ut salus fulgeat. quid egisti diabole ut absconderes lignum,[5] nisi ut iterum vincereris? vicit te Maria quae[6] genuit Triumphatorem,[7] quae sine imminutione virginitatis edidit eum qui crucifixus vinceret te, et mortuus [8] subiugaret. vinceris et hodie ut [9] mulier tuas insidias deprehendat. illa [10] quasi sancta Dominum gestavit; ego crucem eius investigabo. illa generatum docuit; ego resuscitatum. illa fecit ut Deus inter homines videretur; ego ad [11] nostrorum remedium peccatorum divinum [12] de ruinis elevabo vexillum.

45. Aperit [1] itaque humum decutit pulverem. tria patibula confusa reperit quae [2] ruina contexerat, inimicus absconderat. sed non [3] potuit obliterari Christi triumphus. incerto [4] haeret, haeret ut mulier, sed certam indaginem [5] sanctus Spiritus inspirat eo, quod duo latrones cum Domino crucifixi [6] fuerint. quaerit ergo medium lignum, sed poterat fieri ut patibula inter se ruina [7] confunderet, casus inverteret. redit ad Evangelii [8] lectionem,[9] invenit [10] quia in medio patibulo praelatus titulus erat *Iesus* [11] *Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum.* hinc [12] collecta est series [13] veritatis; titulo crux [14] patuit salutaris. hoc est quod petentibus Iudaeis Pilatus respondit, *quod* [15] *scripsi scripsi,* id est, non [16] ea scripsi quae vobis placerent, sed quae aetas futura cognosceret; non [17] vobis scripsi, sed posteritati; propemodum dicens: habeat Helena [18] quod legat, unde crucem Domini recognoscat.

1 Golgotha] golgotham D golgatam F golgotam G. 5 me redemtam] redemptam me D. 6 diabole] dyabole G. 7 Isaac] haec A. eruderavit] erudavit F. 8 passus] passa A. igitur] ergo G. 9 est amputatam] inv. A. 10 iterum] om. E. 14 sancta] sanctam D. 16 ego ad nostrorum] ego ad dominum C nostrum G. 19 reperit] repperit ACG. sed non potuit] sed potuit BCDEG poterat F. 20 obliterari] oblitterari A. haeret] heret A. sed certam] om. E. 21 sanctus Spiritus] inv. ADEG. domino] Cristo F. 22 quaerit] querite G. 23 redit] reddit BC. 25 Nazarenus] naçarenus G. collecta est] est collata A. 26 quod] om. ABCG. ad E. iudaeis] iudeis A. Pilatus respondit] inv. ABEFG. 27 quod scripsi scripsi] BCDFG Itala quod scripsi AE Ben. ed. scripsi] scribi B. 28 cognosceret] congnosceret F. scripsi] om. ABCDEFG. 29 habeat] habet F.

46. Invenit ergo titulum, Regem [1] adoravit, non lignum utique, quia hic gentilis [2] est error,[3] et vanitas impiorum; sed adoravit [4] illum qui [5] pependit in ligno,[6] scriptus in titulo; illum, inquam, qui sicut scarabaeus [7] clamavit ut persecutoribus [8] suis Pater peccata donaret.[9] avida [10] mulier festinabat [11] tangere remedium [12] immortalitatis, metuebat [13] calcare sacramentum [14] salutis. laeto corde et trepidanti vestigio, quid faceret nesciebat. pertendit [15] tamen ad [16] cubile veritatis. lignum refulsit et gratia micuit. et quia iam feminam [17] visitaverat Christus in Maria, Spiritus in Helena visitavit. docuit eam quod mulier ignorabat et deduxit in viam, quam mortalis [18] scire non poterat.

47. Quaesivit clavos quibus crucifixus est Dominus et invenit. de [1] uno clavo fraenos [2] fieri [3] praecepit, de altero diadema intexuit; unum [4] ad decorem,[5] alterum ad devotionem [6] vertit. visitata [7] est Maria ut Evam liberaret; visitata est Helena ut imperatores redimerentur. misit [8] itaque filio suo Constantino diadema gemmis insignitum,[9] quas pretiosior, ferro innexas crucis, redemtionis [10] divinae gemma connecteret. misit et fraenum. utroque usus est Constantinus et fidem transmisit ad posteros reges. principium [11] itaque credentium imperatorum, *sanctum est quod super fraenum;* ex illo fides ut persecutio [12] cessaret, devotio succederet.

48. Sapienter Helena quae crucem [1] in capite regum locavit, ut crux [2] Christi in regibus adoretur. non [3] insolentia ista sed pietas est, cum [4] defertur sacrae redemtioni. bonus itaque clavus [5] Romani imperii qui totum regit orbem [6] ac vestit principum frontem, ut [7] sint praedicatores [8] qui persecutores esse consueverunt, recte [9] in capite clavus, ut ubi sensus est, ibi sit praesidium.[10] in vertice corona, in manibus habena. corona [11] de cruce ut fides luceat; habena quoque de cruce ut potestas regat, sitque iusta [12] moderatio non iniusta praeceptio. habeant hoc etiam principes Christi [13] sibi liberalitate concessum, ut ad imitationem [14] Domini dicatur de imperatore Romano, *posuisti* [15] *in capite eius coronam de lapide pretioso.*

49. Ex illo gratulatur [1] Ecclesia, erubescit Iudaeus. non [2] solum eru-

2 et vanitas] ut vanitas B. 3 titulo] ligno ABCDEF lingno G. inquam] om. ABCDEFG. 4 pater] om. ABCDEFG. suis pater] donaret suis E. 5 calcare] alcare E. 6 trepidanti] trepidante ABDG. 7 veritatis] veritati E. refulsit] refulxit D. 8 in] om. C. 9 visitavit] visitaret ABCDEFG. eam] ea A. 11 dominus] Cristus F. 11 fraenos] frenum DF. diadema] dyadema G. 13 Evam] etiam G. visitata est] visitata est etiam G. 14 itaque] igitur F. 15 gemmis] geminis G. pretiosior] precioso A preciosior C. 16 connecteret] conecterat ABC coniecerat G. 16 fraenum] frenum A. 18 super] supra F. sapientia] add. egit A fecit E. 20 quae] qu E. crux Christi] inv. ABCDEFG. 22 imperii] imperatorii E. 23 regit] redigit BCDEFG. orbem] add. et. D. ut sint] et sint F. 24 consueverunt] consuerunt ADG. 25 sit] om. ABCDFG. habena] fides. Habent A fides habent BCEG fides habentur D fidem habent F. corona] coronam F. 26 habena quoque] habent quoque ABCG habene quoque DF. regat] regiat D regeat F. 27 praeceptio] precatio ABDG consideratio F. habeant] habebant ABCDEF. hoc etiam] inv. D. 28 sibi liberalitate] liberatate E liberalitate sibi F. 29 eius] meo A. posuisti in capite coronam] om. BCDEFG. 31 Iudaeus] iudeus A.

bescit sed etiam torquetur, quod ipse sibi auctor confusionis est. dum[3] insultat Christo confessus est eum regem; dum regem Iudaeorum appellavit sacrilegium[4] suum, qui non credidit, confitetur. ecce,[5] inquiunt, crucifiximus Iesum, ut Christiani[6] et post mortem[7] resurgant et mortui regnent! nos[8] crucifiximus quem reges adorant; quem non adoramus ipsi adorant. ecce[9] et clavus in honore est, et quem ad mortem impressimus remedium[10] salutis est, atque invisibili quadam potestate daemones torquet! putabamus nos[11] vicisse, sed victos fatemur. iterum[12] Christus resurrexit et resurrexisse eum principes agnoverunt. iterum vivit[13] qui non videtur. nunc[14] maior nobis contentio; nunc pugna vehementior adversus eum. cui[15] regna famulantur, cui servit potestas, illum contemsimus. quomodo[16] regibus resistemus? ferro[17] pedum eius reges inclinantur! reges[18] adorant et Photiniani divinitatem eius negant! clavum[19] crucis eius diademati suo praeferunt imperatores, et Arriani[20] potestatem eius imminuunt!

50. Sed quaero: quare[1] sanctum[2] super fraenum, nisi ut imperatorum[3] insolentiam refraenaret. comprimeret licentiam tyrannorum, qui quasi[4] equi in libidines adhinnirent quod[5] liceret illis[6] adulteria impune committere? quae[7] Neronum[8] quae Caligularum caeterorumque probra comperimus, quibus[9] non fuit *sanctum super fraenum?*

51. Quid ergo aliud egit Helenae operatio[1] ut[2] fraena dirigeret, nisi ut omnibus imperatoribus Sancto dicere Spiritu videretur, *nolite*[3] *fieri sicut equus et mulus* sed[4] *in*[5] *fraeno et chamo maxillas eorum* constringeret qui se non agnoscerent reges ut regerent sibi subditos? prona[6] enim potestas in vitium ferebatur, et more[7] pecudum vaga sese libidine polluebant. ignorabant Deum, restrinxit[8] eos crux Domini et revocavit a lapsu[9] impietatis. levavit[10] oculos eorum ut Christum in coelum quaererent. exuerunt[11] se chamo[12] perfidiae, susceperunt fraena devotionis et fidei, sequuti[13] dicentem: *tollite*[14] *iugum meum super vos, . . iugum enim meum*

1 ipsi sibi] etiam sibi F. 2 dum regem] om. E. dum eum regem F. 3 suum] sum E. credidit] credit F. inquiunt] add. et ABCDFG. 4 mortui] om. F. 5 quem] quos BCDG. quem non] quos nisi F nisi D. 7 daemones] demones A. 8 nos] om. DF. 10 nunc] hinc A. 12 quo modo regibus resistemus] qui modo regnanti resistimus A resistimus BCDFG. reges inclinantur] inv. G. 13 photiani] fotiani AB fotini G. clavum] clavus A. 14 diademati] diademate ABDEF dyademate G. 16 super] per G. refraenaret] refrenaret AB. 18 in libidines] ad in libidines G. adhinnirent] adhinnient D. illis] eis A. committere] committere D. 19 caligularum] caligolarum A calegolarum BG calegonarum C galicolarum DF. probra] proba F. 21 aliud egit] inv. A. 22 sancto dicere spiritu] sancto spiritu dicere AG. nolite] noli F. 23 chamo] camo BCDEFG. constringeret] constringe F. 24 agnoscerent] angnoscerent F. reges] om. F. prona] pona F. 25 vitium] vicus F. pecudum] peccodum B. vaga sese] vagas esse G se E. libidine polluebant] inv. F. libidines G. 27 coelum] celo G. 29 sequuti] secuti AB. dicentem] sui dicentem G.

suave est et onus meum leve, inde reliqui principes Christiani, praeter[15] unum Iulianum, qui salutis suae Auctorem reliquit dum[16] philosophiae[17] se dedit errori. inde Gratianus et Theodosius.

52. Non ergo mentita est prophetia[1] dicens: *ambulabunt*[2] *reges in lumine tuo,* ambulabunt plane ac maxime Gratianus et Theodosius prae caeteris principes, non[3] iam armis militum sed meritis suis tecti, non purpureum habitum[4] sed amictum[5] induti gloriae. qui cum hic delectarentur absolutione multorum, quanto[6] magis illic, pepercisse se pluribus recensendo pietatis suae recordatione mulcentur? qui[7] nunc luce fruuntur candida, longe meliora illic quam hic possidebant habitacula[8] consequuti dicentes:[9] *o*[10] *Israel quam magna est domus* Domini, *et* quam *ingens locus possessionis eius!* magnum et non habens finem. et perfuncti maximis laboribus inter se conferunt: *bonum*[11] *est viro cum portaverit iugum grave a iuventute. sedebit singulariter*[12] *et silebit, quia* portavit *iugum grave.* qui enim iugum grave portaverit a iuventute requiescit postea. remotus[13] a turba praecipuum locum quietis suae possidet dicens: *quoniam*[14] *tu*[15] *Domine singulariter in spe constituisti me.*

53. Portavit[1] iugum grave a iuventute sua Lazarus pauper, ideo singulariter in sinu Abrahae requiescit, divinae[2] testimonio lectionis. portavit[3] iugum grave Theodosius a iuventute, quando insidiabantur eius saluti qui patrem[4] eius triumphatorem occiderant. portavit iugum grave, quando subiit pietatis[5] exsilium,[6] quando[7] infusis[8] Romano imperio barbaris suscepit imperium. portavit iugum grave ut tyrannos[9] Romano dimoveret imperio; sed quia[10] hic[11] in labore, ibi in requie.

54. Sed iam veniamus ad augusti corporis transmissionem. fles, Honori, germen[1] augustum, et lacrymis pium testificaris affectum, quod inhonorum[2] adhuc honore[3] tumuli patris corpus per spatia multa transmittis. sed et patriarcha Iacob propter[4] populum liberandum quem tetra fames gravi urgebat periculo, relicta domo senex ad peregrina contendit, atque

1 leve] leve est ABCDEF. christiani] Christi FG. praeter] preter A. 2 auctorem reliquit] reliquit auctorem ABCDEF. philosophiae] filosofiae B phylosophie G. 4 prophetia] prophecia G. 6 caeteris] ceteri G. 7 purpureum] purpereum B. qui] quod G. 11 domus domini] domus tua ABCDEF fides tua G. 12 magnum] magnus BCEFG. 13 portaverit] portavit BFG. 14 silebit] tacebit A. 15 qui] quod G. portaverit] portavit ABCDEFG. iuventute] add. sua BCEFG. requiescit . . . turba] om. BCDEG. 16 praecipium] praecipiumque A. quietis] quietas C. 17 domine] om. ABCDEG. 19 testimonio lectionis] inv. G. 20 a iuventute . . . iugum grave] om. A Theodosius . . . portavit iugum grave] om. BCDEFG. 22 exsilium] auxilium AC. 23 dimoveret imperio] inv. ABDG demoveret F. 24 ibi] illic DF. 25 iam] om. BDF. 26 lacrymis] lacrimis A. inhonorum] in bonorum G. 27 spatia] spacia AG.

ibi defunctus ad sepulcrum patrium per aliquot dies, filio prosequente, deductus est. nec [5] derogatum est aliquid meritis eius, sed magis accessit ad laudem, quod pro suis carens debitae [6] domus sorte, quodam [7] supremi [8] funeris peregrinabatur exsilio.

55. Fles etiam Imperator auguste quod non usque Constantinopolim reverendas [1] reliquias ipse prosequeris. eadem tibi causa nobiscum est. omnes [2] iusto dolore prosequimur; omnes si fieri posset deductores tecum esse cuperemus. sed Ioseph ad finitimam accessit provinciam; hic [3] multa interiacent regionum divortia; hic maria transfretanda [4] sunt. nec hoc quidem tibi laboriosum nisi te teneret respublica, quam boni imperatores et parentibus et filiis praetulerunt. denique ideo te imperatorem pater [5] fecit, Dominus confirmavit, ut non soli militares [6] patri, sed omnibus imperares.

56. Nec [1] vereare ne inhonorae [2] videantur quocumque accesserint, reliquiae triumphales. non [3] hoc sentit Italia quae claros spectavit triumphos, quae a tyrannis iterum liberata concelebrat suae libertatis auctorem; non hoc Constantinopolis quae secundo ad victoriam principem misit, quem cum vellet tenere non potuit. exspectabat [4] quidem in reditu eius triumphales solemnitates ut titulos victoriarum; exspectabat totius orbis Imperatorem stipatum exercitu Gallicano et totius [5] orbis subnixum viribus. sed [6] nunc illic Theodosius potentior, nunc gloriosior redit, quem [7] angelorum caterva deducit, quem sanctorum turba prosequitur. beata plane,[8] quae paradisi [9] incolam [10] suscipis, et habitatorem [11] supernae illius [12] civitatis, augusto [13] sepulti corporis tenebis hospitio.

1 sepulcrum patrium] inv. A. 2 derogatum] interrogatum G. 3 debitae] edite DF dedite G. supremi] suppremi A. 6 ipse prosequeris] ipsequeris B. est] om. F. 7 omnes] nam omnes DEF. iusto] iuxta C iusta G. si fieri posset] si fieri potest A si possibile fuerit F. tecum] om. DF. 9 divortia] discreta G. 10 te] om. CDFG. 11 praetulerunt] detulerunt CG. 12 patri] paci D pari F. soli] solum F. 13 imperares] impares F. 14 nec vereare ne] nec vere harenae C. ne] si F. inhonorae] inhonore E. videantur] indecenti sint DEF. accesserint] accesserunt C. 16 tyrannis] tirannis G. 17 principem misit] in melius inmisit BDEF. quem] que G. 18 quidem] rursus E. expectabat quidem] om. F. in reditu] reditum DF. 19 solemnitates] solempnitates DF. ut] et AG ac DEF. 20 stipatum] stipendio G. subnixum] subnisum F. 21 sed nunc] sed et ne CG et E om. F. redit] redivit G. 22 deducit quem] deducit civem DEF. angelorum] suum quippe angelorum E. 24 civitatis] om. F. augusto sepulti corporis] angusto sepulchri om. A augusto sepulchri corporis C (suprascr. at angusto at sepulti) sepulchro marmoris DEF angusto sepulcro G. hospitio] hospicio G.

ON THE DEATH OF THEODOSIUS.

1. Now severe earthquakes were threatening us, now continual rains, and darkness denser than ordinary night was announcing that our most merciful Emperor Theodosius was about to leave this earth. Even the elements, then, were mourning his death. The heavens were veiled in obscurity, the air shuddering in unbroken gloom; the earth was shaken by tremors, was filled with floods of waters. Why should not the very universe weep because he, the prince, was to be forthwith snatched away by death, he by whom the hardships of this world were accustomed to be mitigated, since by forgiveness he avoided the punishment of crime.

2. And he indeed, has gone to receive his kingdom, which he has not laid aside, but, admitted by right of piety into the tabernacles of Christ, he has exchanged it for the heavenly Jerusalem. Now that he has received his place there, he says: "As we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God, which God hath founded forever." But he has left behind many destitute, as it were, of a father's protection, and above all his sons. But they are not destitute whom he left as the heirs of his piety; they are not destitute for whom he gained the grace of Christ and the loyalty of the army, to which he was the proof that God cherishes devotion and avenges treachery.

3. Therefore, recently we lamented the death of this prince, and now we are celebrating the fortieth day, with the prince Honorius assisting at the holy altar. Because as holy Joseph performed the burial rites for his father Jacob during forty days, so this son offers due ceremonies for his father Theodosius. And because some are accustomed to observe the third and the thirtieth day, others the seventh and the fortieth, let us consider what the text teaches. Thus when Jacob died, "Joseph commanded," it says, "the servant undertakers to bury him, and the undertakers buried Israel, and forty days were completed for him; for thus the days of the funeral rites are reckoned. And Egypt mourned for him seventy days." Accordingly, that solemnity which the text prescribes is to be followed. But also in Deuteronomy it is written

that the children of Israel mourned for Moses thirty days, and the days of mourning were finished. Each observance, then, has authority because the necessary duty of filial piety is accomplished.

4. Therefore Joseph was good, who furnished the model for filial devotion, whom his father loved, and to whom he said: "May my God aid thee, and may he bless thee with the blessing of holding all things of the earth because of the blessing of the breasts and of the womb, blessings of thy mother, and because of the blessings of thy father"; Joseph, the good offspring of a devoted father. He therefore celebrates the fortieth day of his father Jacob, that supplantor, and we celebrate the fortieth day of Theodosius, who, after the example of Jacob, supplanted the perfidy of tyrants, who put away the idols of the gentiles, for his faith has removed all worship of images, has stamped out all their ceremonies. He also grieved that the remission of punishment, which he had granted to those who had transgressed against him, had come to naught and pardon had been denied. But his sons will not refuse what their father granted. They will not refuse, even though a certain person should attempt to cause a disturbance; for those who pay out what he left to individuals, will not be able to refuse what he left for all.

5. The death of so great a prince had in it nothing more glorious, who had already consigned all to his sons; his kingdom, his power, the name of Augustus. Nothing, I say, more seemly was reserved for him in death than the fact that since the promised mitigation of the necessary payment of the grain tax in some cases was delayed, his successor has become the heir of these indulgences, so that the one who wished to prevent this has made ill-will for himself. Nevertheless, the crown of so great a favour has not been taken away from Theodosius. Not undeservedly, for if the last wishes of private citizens have perpetual stability, even though testaments are lacking, how can the will of so great a prince be disregarded? Theodosius is also glorious in this, that he did not attest by common law; for he had nothing unusual to conceal from his sons to whom he had given everything, unless it were to commend them to a father who was present. It was necessary for him to provide by will concerning all that belonged to him and had been committed to his care, so that he might do away with legacies and designate all things left in trust. He ordered the law of indul-

gence to be passed which he left written. What more worthy than that this law be the last will of the emperor?

6. Therefore so great an emperor has withdrawn from us, but he has not wholly withdrawn; for he has left us his children in whom we should recognize him, and in whom we see and possess him. Let not their age disquiet you. The faith of soldiers is the perfection of the age of an emperor; for age is perfect where strength is perfect. This acts reciprocally, for the faith of an emperor is the strength of his soldiers.

7. You will recall, I am sure, what triumphs the faith of Theodosius acquired for you. When, because of local difficulties and the hindrance of camp followers, the army line came down to the combat a little too slowly and because of your delay in offering battle the enemy seemed to insult you, the prince leaped down from his horse and advancing alone before the line, said: "Where is the God of Theodosius?" He spoke thus when already close to Christ; for who could have said this unless one who knew that he was close to Christ? By this speech he aroused all, and by his example armed all. And surely, he was now somewhat advanced in years, but robust in faith.

8. The faith of Theodosius then, was your victory; let your faith be the strength of his sons. Faith, therefore, adds to age. Finally Abraham did not consider age when, an old man, he begot a son, nor Sara, when she bore a son. It is not astonishing if faith adds to age, since it brings the future before one. For what is faith except the substance of those things for which we hope? So the Scriptures teach us. Therefore if faith is the substance of those things for which we hope, how much the more, of those which we see? Good faith of which it is written: "But the just man liveth by faith; but if he withdraw himself, he shall not please my soul."

9. Moreover let us not withdraw ourselves at the expense of our souls, but let us cling to faith for our soul's gain; since in this warfare of faith our elders, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, have known the evidence, and thus they have left to us a heritage of faith. Abraham was faithful, who not by works but by faith was justified, since he believed God; Isaac, who through faith did not fear the sword of his father, who was about to strike him; Jacob, who

intent upon the footprints of his father's faith, while he made his journey, saw an army of angels and called it the council of God.

10. Elsewhere also, that is, in the book of Kings, Eliseus was in Samaria, and suddenly an army of Syrians surrounded and set upon him. Giezi saw them and said to his master, "O Master, what shall we do?" And Eliseus, the prophet, said, "Fear not, for there are more with us than with them." And he prayed that the Lord would open the eyes of Giezi. And his eyes were opened and he saw the mountain full of horses and chariots around Eliseus. And Eliseus prayed that God would strike then with blindness and they were struck, and they entered into the city whither they were going, seeing not at all." Surely, you soldiers who have been surrounded have heard that where there is perfidy, there is blindness. Therefore, deservedly was the army of the unbeliever blind. But where there is faith there is an army of angels. And so faith is good, which frequently has effect among the dead. Finally, our adversary and his legions are daily hurled back by the virtue of the martyrs. So I think that on this account the strings of the cithern are called *fides,* since, although dead, they give forth sound.

11. Thus we must strive more and more, lest while engaged in this duty of living, we be ungrateful; but let us bestow sedulous and paternal affection on the children of the pious prince. Pay to his sons what you owe to their father; you owe more to him now that he is dead than you owed to him while he was living. For if among the children of private citizens the rights of minors are not violated without grave crime, how much the more in the case of the children of an emperor.

12. Let it be said in addition, "Of what an emperor!" Of a pious emperor, of a merciful emperor, of a faithful emperor, concerning whom the Scripture has spoken in no ordinary manner, saying, "Great and in honor is the merciful man; but to find a faithful man is difficult." If it is a great thing to find any one so ever merciful or faithful, how much greater an emperor whom power impels toward revenge, but whom, nevertheless, compassion recalls from taking vengeance? What is more illustrious than the faith of an emperor whom sovereignty does not exalt, pride does not elevate, but piety bows down? Of whom Solomon admirably says: "The threatening of an unjust king is like the roaring of a lion, but as dew upon the grass, so also is his cheerfulness."

Therefore what a great thing it is to lay aside the terror of power, and prefer the sweetness of granting pardon?

13. Theodosius of august memory thought he had received a kindness when asked to pardon, and he was more disposed to forgiveness at the time when the emotions of his wrath had been greatest. The token of forgiveness was that he had been angry, and what was feared in others was desired in him, that he be moved to wrath. It was the relief of the accused that although he had power over all, he preferred to expostulate as a father, rather than to punish as a judge. Often we have seen those whom he was rebuking, trembling and convicted of crime, and when they had despaired, we have seen them freed from the charge. For he wished to win them, not to punish as a judge of justice; he was not a dispenser of punishment, for he never denied pardon to one confessing his guilt; or if there was anything which the secret conscience concealed, he reserved that for God. Men feared that voice of his more than punishment, because the emperor acted with such caution as to prefer to attach men to himself by conscientious motives rather than by fear.

14. It is said that the greatest of the philosophers granted immunity from punishment to those crimes which had been committed through anger, but the divine Scriptures say better, "Be angry and sin not." He preferred rather to lessen sin than to excuse it. It is better to find praise for mercy in an occasion for indignation than to be incited by wrath toward revenge.

15. Who then will doubt that he will be a powerful protector for his sons in the House of God? By the favor of the Lord, the Emperor Arcadius is already a robust youth; Honorius knocks forthwith at the door of manhood, a little older than Josias. For the latter, deprived of a father, assumed the government and reigned continuously for thirty-one years, and he pleased the Lord because, better than the other kings of Israel, he celebrated the pasch of the Lord and abolished the errors of ceremonies. Asa likewise, though weak in health of body up to the time when he succeeded to the throne, reigned in Jerusalem forty years; he it was who, when hard pressed by an infinite and innumerable multitude of Ethiopians, trusted that by the aid of the Lord even among a few he could be saved. Would that he had been as faithful during his course as devout at its beginning! For, saved among a few

and victor, afterwards he left the Lord and asked aid from the Syrians and applied to physicians for a disease of the feet. When he had received so great indications of divine favour, he should not have abandoned his helper but retained Him. Therefore the physicians did not benefit him and as an unbeliever he paid the penalty of death.

16. But their fathers, Abiam and Amon, were both unbelievers. Theodosius, however, was full of the fear of God, was full of mercy, and we hope that he stands before Christ as a protector of his children, if the Lord be propitious to human affairs. The merciful man is praiseworthy who, while he assists others, is mindful of himself and with the remedy of another cures his own wounds. For he who knows how to forgive realizes that he is human, and he follows the way of Christ who, when he assumed flesh, chose to come into this world as a Redeemer rather than a Judge.

17. Whence the psalmist beautifully has said: "I have loved, because the Lord will hear the voice of my prayer." While this psalm was being read, we heard, as it were, Theodosius himself speaking. "I have loved" he says. I recognize his pious voice, and its testimonies also do I recognize. And he has truly loved who fulfilled his duty diligently, who spared his enemies, who loved his foes, who pardoned those by whom he was entreated, who did not even suffer those who strove for his power to perish. That voice is the saying of one not partially, but fully perfected in the Law. "I have loved for love is the fulfilling of the Law." But let us hear what he has loved. When the kind of love is not mentioned, certainly the grace of divine charity is signified whereby we love that which is to be desired above all things desirable, concerning which it is written: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God."

18. And so the pious soul departing from earth and filled with the Holy Spirit, when questioned, as it were, by those who hastened to meet it when it ascended to the high and supernal regions, kept saying, "I have loved." Nothing fuller than this, nothing more definite. Angels and archangels were questioning, "What hast thou done on earth?" For God alone is the witness of secret things. The soul kept saying, "I have loved," that is to say, "I have fulfilled the Law, I have not neglected the Gospel"; that is to say, "I have offered myself to death, and all the day long I am counted as a sheep for the slaughter." "And therefore I

trust, 'that neither death nor life, nor angels nor powers, nor height nor depth nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.'"

19. The Lord Jesus also teaches in the Gospel that this commandment of the Law must be observed, when he says to Peter: "Simon, son of John, lovest thou Me?" and he answered: "Thou knowest, Lord, that I love Thee," and He said a second time: "Simon, son of John, lovest thou Me?" and again he answered: "Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee," and when asked a third time, he said: "Lord, Thou knowest all things, Thou knowest that I love Thee." His threefold answer confirmed his love, or effaced the fault of his threefold denial. And here if we seek, we shall find the threefold answer: "I have loved, because the Lord will hear the voice of my prayer." I have loved since He has inclined his ear to me, that in my day I might call upon Him. I have loved because I have found tribulation and sorrow, and for the sake of my God, I have not fled the dangers of hell but have waited that they might seize and discover me."

20. He also says beautifully, "I have loved," because now he had completed the course of this life, and so the Apostle also says when in the midst of his suffering, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. As to the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice." Great is the Lord who has given us the struggle, whereby he who has conquered merits to be crowned. "I have loved," he says trustingly, "because the Lord will hear the voice of my prayer."

21. "I have loved and therefore 'he has inclined his ear' to me, to raise up the fallen, to quicken the dead." For God does not incline his ear to hear corporally but to condescend to us, whereby He deigns to hear us and to lift up the substance of our weakness. He inclines himself toward us that our prayer may ascend to Him. He does not need a voice who offers mercy; for neither did He need a voice who heard Moses, though silent, and He kept saying that Moses cried out to Him, although he did not speak, but was interceding with unspeakable groanings. God also knew how to hear blood, for which no voice exists nor tongue is present; but he heard its voice through the glory of its sacred suffering. It cried out in martyrdom, it cried out in the parricide which it suffered on account of a sacrifice.

22. "I have loved," he said, and "for that reason loving I have done the will of the Lord, and I have invoked Him not on a few, but on all the days of my life." For to invoke Him on certain days and not on all is the action of one who is haughty, not of one who hopes. It is likewise to return the debt of gratitude after the manner of those who abound in wealth not from a spirit of devotion. And so Paul said: "In all things give thanks." For when do you not have something which you owe to God? Or when are you without a gift of God, you whose daily enjoyment of living is from God? "For what hast thou, which thou hast not received?" Therefore, because you always receive, always invoke; and since what you have is from God, always acknowledge that you are a debtor. Still, I prefer that you pay your debts as a lover, than as one forced to do so.

23. Do you hear him saying: "'The sorrows of death have compassed me?' Still, I have loved the Lord even in the sorrows of death. 'The perils of hell have found me,' not fearing indeed, but loving, but hoping, because no distress, no persecution, no dangers, no sword shall separate me from Christ." Finally, he found tribulation and sorrow willingly knowing that "tribulation worketh patience, patience trial, trial hope." Truly as a good athlete he sought the contest that he might gain the crown; which however, he knew had been given to him not through his own strength but by the aid of God; for he could not have been victorious unless he had called upon Him who helps those who are struggling.

24. Miserable man enters the lists in order to be victorious and of his own accord runs headlong into danger, unless the name of the Lord be present with him, unless, when he fears, he prays, saying: "O Lord deliver my soul." Hence the following apostolic saying: "But I see a law of my flesh fighting against the law of my mind, and captivating me in the law of sin, that is in my members. Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God, by Jesus Christ our Lord."

25. He is victorious, who hopes for the grace of God, not he who presumes upon his own strength. For why do you not presume grace, since you have a merciful One presiding over the contest. "For the Lord is merciful and just, and our God sheweth mercy."

He set forth mercy twice, justice once. Justice is in the midst, inclosed by a double hedge of mercy; for sins superabound, therefore let mercy superabound. With the Lord there is an abundance of all virtues, for He is the Lord of virtues. Still there is no justice without mercy, nor without the exercise of mercy is there justice, as it is written, "Be not over-just." That which is above measure, even if it be good, still one does not endure it. Preserve the measure that you may receive according to the measure.

26. Still mercy has not impeded justice; for mercy is itself justice. "He hath distributed, he hath given to the poor, his justice remaineth forever." For the just man knows that he ought to succor the feeble and the needy. Hence the Lord, coming to baptism in order to pardon our sins who are weak, said to John: "Suffer it to be so now. For so it becometh us to fulfill all justice." Therefore it is evident that justice is mercy and mercy is justice. For if the mercy of God did not sustain us, how could we survive as infants, in the very first moment of existence when, borne from the womb from warmth into cold, from moisture into dryness, we are thrown forth like fishes which a flood of nature, as it were, had cast shipwrecked into this life. Reason is lacking, but divine grace does not fail. Therefore He Himself guards the little ones, or at least those who by an act of humility confess that they are little ones.

27. Good therefore is humility, which delivers those who are in danger and raises up the fallen. He knew it who said: "Behold it is I, I have sinned, and I the shepherd have done wickedly; and these in this flock what have they done? Let thy hand be against me." Well he says this who made his kingdom subject to God and did penance and, having confessed his sin, asked pardon. He himself attained salvation through humility. Christ humbled Himself to raise up all. He has attained the rest of Christ who has followed the humility of Christ.

28. And so because Theodosius, the Emperor, showed himself humble and, when sin had stolen upon him, asked pardon, his soul has turned to its rest, as the Scripture holds, which says: "Turn my soul unto thy rest, for the Lord hath been bountiful to thee." Beautifully it says to the soul: "Turn," that the soul, as it were, tired out with the continued sweat of each work, may turn from labor to rest. The horse is turned toward the stable when

it has finished its course; the ship to its port, where it is drawn up to safe moorings from the force of the waves. But what does he mean by saying "to thy rest" unless you understand it according to the words of the Lord Jesus: "Come ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you by inheritance from the foundation of the world?" For we receive, as it were, an inherited possession, the things which have been promised to us, for God is faithful, who does not withdraw what he has once prepared for His servants. If our faith endure, His promise likewise endures.

29. See O man the grace of Christ about you; as yet you are harassed on earth, but in heaven you possess. There then, let your heart be, where your possession is. This is the rest which is due the just, and is denied the unworthy. Whence says the Lord, "As I swore in my wrath, that they shall not enter into my rest." For he who has not known the ways of the Lord shall not enter into the rest of the Lord, but he who has fought the good fight and has finished his course, to him it is said: "Turn to thy rest." It is a noble rest to pass by the things of the world and to find repose in that celestial fellowship of mysteries which are above the world. This is the rest toward which the prophet was eager to hasten, saying: "Who will give me wings like a dove and I will fly and be at rest?" The holy man knows this rest of his; to this rest he says his soul must turn. Thus then was his soul in its rest, to which he says it must return. This is the rest of the great Sabbath, that each one of the saints is above the sensible things of the world wholly intent upon that intelligible mystery and keeping close to God. This is that rest of the Sabbath on which God rested from all the works of this world.

30. Theodosius, now at peace, rejoices that he has been snatched away from the cares of this world and lifts up his soul and directs it to that perpetual rest, declaring that he has been well cared for, inasmuch as God has snatched his soul from death, which death he frequently withstood in this hazardous state of the world, disturbed by the waves of sin. He has also snatched his eyes from tears, for sorrow and sadness and mourning shall flee away. And elsewhere we have: "He shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor crying, nor sorrow." If then death shall be no more, he will not be able to experience

a fall, when he is in that rest, but he will please God in the land of the living. For as man is here enveloped in a body of death subject to falls and transgressions, not so indeed there. And so, that is the land of the living where the soul is, which has been made to the image and likeness of God, not flesh fashioned from earth. Therefore the flesh returns to earth, the soul hastens to supernal rest. To it, it is said: "Turn, my soul, to thy rest."

31. Into this rest Theodosius hastened to enter, that is, to go into the city of Jerusalem, concerning which it has been said: "And the kings of the earth shall bring their glory into it." That is true glory which is there assumed; that the most blessed kingdom which is there possessed, to which the Apostle was hastening, saying: "We are confident, then, and agree to be absent rather from the body and to be present with the Lord; and therefore we strive, whether absent or present to please Him."

32. And so freed from a doubtful struggle, Theodosius of august memory now enjoys perpetual light and lasting tranquility, and in exchange for all that he did in this body, he rejoices in the fruits of a divine reward. Therefore because Theodosius of august memory loved the Lord his God, he has merited the companionship of the saints.

33. And to conclude my discourse by a sort of peroration—I have loved the merciful man, humble in power and endowed with a pure heart and a gentle disposition, such a one as God is accustomed to love saying: "Above whom shall I rest, unless above the humble and gentle?"

34. I have loved the man who esteemed an admonitor more than a flatterer. He threw on the ground all the royal attire which he was wearing; he wept publicly in the Church, for his sin which had stolen upon him by the deceit of others; he prayed for pardon with groans and with tears. That which brings a blush to private citizens, the Emperor did not blush to do, that is, to perform penance publicly; nor did a day pass afterwards on which he did not grieve for that mistake of his. What of the fact that when he had gained an illustrious victory, still because the enemy had fallen in battle he abstained from a participation of the sacraments, until he experienced the grace of God around him by the arrival of his children?

35. I have loved the man who in his dying hour kept asking for

me with his last breath. I have loved the man who at the moment he was being released from the body was more concerned about the condition of the Churches than his own trials. I have loved therefore, I confess it, and for that reason I have suffered my sorrow in the depths of my heart and I thought solace should be obtained by the delivery of this too lengthy discourse. I have loved and I trust that God is receiving the voice of my prayer, with which I accompany his pious soul.

36. " The sorrows of death have compassed me; the perils of hell have found me "; for the dangers are of the many, but the remedies of the few. The bishop is imperilled in all circumstances; he is distressed among all the guilty; for what others suffer, he himself endures; and in turn he is freed, when others who are bound are freed from danger. I am crushed at heart because a man has been taken away whom we can scarcely replace. But still, O Lord, Thou alone shouldst be supplicated; Thou shouldst be implored to reproduce him in his sons. Thou, Lord, the keeper also of little ones in this lowliness, " save those hoping in Thee." Give perfect rest to Thy servant Theodosius, that rest which Thou hast prepared for Thy saints. Let his soul turn there, whence it descended, where he cannot feel the sting of death, where he knows that this death is not the end of nature but of error. For in that he died, he died to sin; so that now there can be no place for sin; but he will rise again in order that his life may be restored more perfectly by renewed gifts.

37. I have loved and so I accompany him to the land of the living, and I will not abandon him, until, by my tears and prayers I shall lead the man whither his merits summon, unto the holy mountain of God; where there is eternal life; where there is no corruption, no sickness, no mourning, no sorrow, no companionship of the dead; a true land of the living where " this mortal shall put on immortality and this corruptible shall put on incorruption." A noble repose which satisfies the prayer of the loving, a most glorious promise. Therefore the Hundred and Fourteenth Psalm, Alleluia, is written. Finally, in the Fourteenth Psalm, we have already learned the perfection of man. But made in this world, man may be perfect, but still subject to sin, because he is living in time; in the other world there is true perfection where indeed sin has ceased, and the grace of perpetual rest has shone forth.

38. For this reason the Hundred and Fourteenth Psalm is written, because it is the recompense of love; whence the pasch of the Lord received its manner of celebration at the fourteenth moon; since, he who celebrates the pasch ought to be perfect; he should love the Lord Jesus, who cherishing his people with perfect love offered himself to his passion. And so let us love that, if there should be need, for the name of the Lord we may not avoid death, we may not consider any sorrow, we may fear nothing; "for perfect charity casteth out fear." Sublime mystery of number, since the Father delivered His only Son for us all, when the moon shone with the full orb of its light. So, truly, the Church which devoutly celebrates the pasch of our Lord Jesus Christ, "as the perfect moon abides for ever." Whoever during life celebrates fittingly the pasch of the Lord shall be in perpetual light. Who has celebrated it more sumptuously than he who removed sacrilegious errors, closed temples, and destroyed idols. In this respect was King Josias preferred to his predecessors.

39. Theodosius, then, abides in the light and glories in the assembly of the saints. There he is now embracing Gratian, who no longer grieves for his wounds, for he has found an avenger. He, though snatched away prematurely by an unworthy death, possesses rest for his soul. There the good and great expounders of the love of God are alike rejoiced by a share in his mercy. Of whom it is well said: "Day to day uttereth speech." But on the other hand Maximus and Eugenius in hell, as "night to night sheweth knowledge"; teaching by a miserable example the wickedness of taking arms against their princes. Concerning whom it is said fittingly "I have seen the wicked highly exalted and lifted up like the cedars of Lebanus, and I passed by and lo, he was not!" He, devout indeed, has passed over from the night of time to eternal day, and the wicked was no more, who in his injustice has ceased to live.

40. Now Theodosius of august memory acknowledges that he reigns, since he is in the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and contemplates his temple. Now indeed, in his own eyes he is a king as he receives his son Gratian and Pulcheria, his sweetest children whom he had lost here; when his Flacilla, a soul faithful to God, clings to him; when he rejoices that his father has been restored to him; when he greets Constantine, who, though resolved in his

last hour, was freed by the grace of baptism from all sin, and because he was the first of the emperors to believe and left after him a heritage of faith to princes, he has found a place of great merit. Of whose times the following prophecy is accomplished: "In that day that which is upon the bridle of the horse shall be holy to the Lord omnipotent." And this holy object, Helen his mother, of sainted memory, when filled with the spirit of God, unveiled for herself.

41. Happy Constantine, because of such a mother, who at her son's command sought the aid of divine favour by which in battle he might both engage safely and not fear danger. Noble woman, who found something much greater to give to the emperor than she could receive from the emperor. The mother, solicitous for her son to whom the sovereignty of the Roman world had fallen, hastened to Jerusalem and diligently explored the place of the Lord's passion.

42. They claim that at first she was hostess of an inn, and known as such to the elder Constantine, who afterwards secured the realm. Good hostess, who so diligently sought for the manger of the Lord. Good hostess who did not ignore that host, who cared for the wounds of the man wounded by robbers. Good hostess who preferred to be considered dung, to gain Christ. For that reason Christ raised her from dung to a kingdom, as it is written that "He raised up the needy from the earth, and lifted up the poor out of the dunghill."

43. Helen, then, came and commenced to look about the sacred places. The Spirit inspired her to search for the wood of the Cross. She drew near to Golgotha and said "Behold the place of combat, where is the victory? I seek the standard of salvation and I do not find it. "I," she said, "among kings, and the cross of my Lord in the dust? I in golden ornaments, and the triumph of Christ among ruins? Thus far the cross lies hidden and the palm of eternal life lies hidden! How do I believe that I have been redeemed, if my redemption itself is not seen?"

44. "I see what you did, O Devil, in order that the sword by which you were destroyed might be walled up. But Isaac cleared from rubbish the wells blocked up by foreigners, and did not suffer the water to lie concealed. Let the ruins be removed that life may appear; let the sword be drawn forth with which the head of the

true Goliath was cut off; let the earth be opened that salvation may shine forth. Why did you labor to hide the wood, O Devil, unless that you may be vanquished a second time? You were vanquished by Mary, who gave the Conqueror birth. She without detriment to her virginity, brought forth Him to conquer you by His crucifixion, and to subjugate you by His death. Today also you shall be conquered when a woman discovers your snares. As that holy one bore the Lord, I shall search for His cross. She showed Him created; I, raised from the dead. She caused God to be seen among men; I shall raise from the ruins the divine standard as a remedy for our sins.

45. And so she opens the ground; she casts off the dust. She finds three forked-shaped gibbets thrown together, which the débris had covered; which the enemy had hidden. But the triumph of Christ could not be obliterated. She hesitates uncertain. She hesitates, as a woman, but the Holy Spirit inspires a careful investigation, with the thought that two robbers had been crucified with the Lord. Therefore she seeks the middle wood, but it could have happened that the débris mixed up the crosses one with another, and chance interchanged them. She returned to the text of the Gospel, and found that on the middle gibbet a title had been displayed "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews." Hence a sequence of truth was formulated; the saving cross was disclosed by its title. This it is that Pilate answered to the Jews when they petitioned him: "What I have written, I have written" that is, "I have not written these things to please you, but that future ages may know. I have not written for you but for posterity; saying, as it were: "Let Helen have something to read, whereby she may recognize the cross of the Lord."

46. She discovered, then, the title; she adored the King; not the wood indeed, because this is an error of the Gentiles and a vanity of the wicked; but she adored Him who hung on the wood, who was inscribed in the title; Him, I say, who as a scarabaeus, cried out to his Father to forgive the sins of his persecutors. The woman eagerly hastened to reach the remedy of immortality. She was afraid to trample under foot the mystery of salvation. Joyful at heart yet with anxious footstep, she knew now what she should do. She proceeded, however, to the cradle of truth. The wood shone and grace flashed forth. And as before Christ had visited

a woman in Mary, so the Spirit visited a woman in Helen. He taught her those things which as woman she knew not, and led her to the way which no mortal was able to know.

47. She sought the nails with which the Lord was crucified, and found them. From one nail she ordered reins to be made, from another she wove a diadem. She turned one to an ornamental use; the other to a devotional one. Mary was visited to liberate Eve; Helen was visited that emperors might be redeemed. Therefore she sent to her son Constantine a diadem remarkable for its jewels which the more precious gem of divine redemption interwove, as the jewels were inlaid in the iron of the cross. She also sent the bridle. Constantine used both, and transmitted the faith to later kings. And so, the first source of emperors' receiving the faith is the holy relic which is upon the bridle. From that came faith whereby persecution ended and devotion took its place.

48. Helen has done wisely who has placed the cross on the head of sovereigns, in order that the cross of Christ may be adored among kings. That is not presumption but piety, since it was consecrated to our holy redemption. Therefore, honorable is the nail of the Roman empire which rules the whole world and adorns the forehead of princes, in order that they may be preachers who were accustomed to be persecutors. Rightly is the nail on the head, that where the intelligence is, there a guard may be. On the forehead a crown; in the hands reins. A crown made from the cross, that faith may shine forth; reins likewise from the cross, that power may rule, and that there may be just moderation, not unjust caprice. May the princes cherish this also, granted to them by the liberality of Christ, that in imitation of the Lord, it may be said of the Roman Emperor: "You have placed on his head a crown of precious stones."

49. On that account the Church manifests joy; the Jew blushes. Not only does he blush but he is also tormented, because he himself is the author of his own confusion. While he insults Christ, he has confessed Him, King; while he calls Him, King of the Jews, he who has not believed, confesses his sacrilege. "Behold," they say, "we have crucified Jesus, that Christians after death may rise again and in death reign! We have crucified Him whom kings adore. They adore Him, whom we do not adore. Behold the nail also is held in honor and He whom we crushed down to death is

the remedy of salvation, and by a certain invisible power torments demons! We thought that we had conquered, but we confess that we are conquered. Christ has risen again, and princes acknowledge that he has risen. He who is not seen lives again. Now we have a greater struggle; now the battle against him is more furious. We have despised Him whom kingdoms attend, whom power serves. How shall we resist kings? Kings are bowed down by the iron of his feet! Kings adore Him and Photinians deny His divinity! Emperors display the nail of His cross in their diadem, and Arians violate His power!

50. But I ask: Why is the holy relic upon the bridle, unless to curb the insolence of emperors, to check the wantonness of tyrants, who as horses neigh after lust, that they may be allowed to commit adultery unpunished? What infamies do we find of Nero, Caligula and the rest, because for them there was no holy thing upon the bridle?

51. What else therefore has the beneficence of Helen accomplished when she gave direction to the reins, than to seem to say by the Holy Spirit to all emperors: "Do not become like the horse and mule," and in bridle and bit to bind the jaws of those who did not realize that they were kings to rule themselves, as subjects. For power was prostrated in vice, and like cattle they defiled themselves by rampant lust. They knew not God. The cross of the Lord has restrained them and has recalled them from wickedness. It has raised their eyes that they might look toward heaven for Christ. They have stripped themselves of the bit of perfidy; they have taken up the reins of devotion and faith, following Him who said: "Take up my yoke upon you . . . for my yoke is sweet and my burden light." And so the succeeding emperors were Christians except Julian alone, who abandoned the Author of his salvation when he gave himself over to philosophic error. And so Gratian and Theodosius were Christians.

52. So then the prophecy has not lied which says: "Kings shall walk in thy light." They shall walk openly and especially Gratian and Theodosius, surpassing the other princes; no longer protected by the weapons of soldiers but by their own merits; clothed not in purple garments, but in the mantle of glory. Since in this world they were delighted by the pardoning of many, how much the more are they consoled in the other life by the remembrance of their

piety, in the recollection of the many they had spared? They now enjoy the radiant light, possessing far better dwellings there than they enjoyed here and saying: "O Israel, how great is the house of the Lord, and how vast is the place of his possession! It is great and hath no end." And they who have endured the greatest hardships confer with one another, saying: "It is good for a man when he hath borne the heavy yoke." For he who has borne the heavy yoke from youth rests afterward. Apart from the throng, he possesses the distinguished place of his rest, saying: "Since Thou O Lord singularly hast settled me in hope."

53. Lazarus, the poor man, bore the heavy yoke from his youth, therefore he rests apart in Abraham's bosom, according to the testimony of the divine text. Theodosius bore the heavy yoke from youth, since those who killed his father, the conqueror, were plotting against his safety. He bore the heavy yoke, since he endured an exile of filial devotion; since he assumed the imperial power in the Roman empire when it was overrun by barbarians. He bore the heavy yoke that he might remove tyrants from the Roman empire. But because here he laboured, there he rests.

54. But now let us come to the transmission of the illustrious body. You weep, Honorius, august scion, and by your tears express filial love, because you transport through a great distance the body of your father thus far unvenerated by the honor of a tomb. But the patriarch Jacob, because of the necessity of liberating his people whom dire famine was pressing with great danger, left his home, though an old man, and hastened to a strange country; and after he died there, he was borne to the sepulchre of his fathers, a journey of some days, accompanied by his son. Nor was there anything taken away from his merits, but rather his praise was augmented, because, for the sake of his own, he was deprived by fate of his rightful home and travelled in a sort of exile after death.

55. You weep, also, august Emperor because you yourself will not accompany the honored remains to Constantinople. The cause is alike for you and for us. We all accompany them with rightful sorrow. We all should like, if it were possible, to go with you as an escort for the body. But Joseph went into a neighboring province. Here many divergent kingdoms intervene; here seas must be crossed. Even this would not be laborious to you, did not the public weal hold you, which good emperors place before parents

and children. Finally then, your father made you emperor. God has confirmed this, so that you might not do military service for your father alone, but that you might have command over all.

56. Do not fear lest the triumphant body may seem to be unhonored wherever it goes. Italy does not feel so who has witnessed his magnificent triumphs, who, freed a second time from tyrants, acclaims the author of her liberty. Constantinople does not feel so, who a second time has sent a prince to victory; for though she wished to retain him, she was not able. She was indeed awaiting triumphal celebrations for his return and the tokens of victories. She was awaiting the Emperor of the whole world, surrounded by the army from Gaul and supported by the might of the whole world. But now Theodosius returns thither, more powerful, more glorious. Choirs of angels escort him. A multitude of saints accompanies him. Surely blessed art thou, Constantinople, who receivest a citizen of paradise, and who will possess in the august hospice of his buried body an inhabitant of the celestial city.

COMMENTARY.

Section 1.

1. **ultra solitum caligo tenebrosior:** For the expression *ultra solitum caligo,* cf. Tac. A. 4, 64, 1. Ecclesiastical writers sometimes employed with comparative adjectives and adverbs the prepositions *prae, super, supra* and *ultra,* to bring out the force of the comparative degree. Cf. Salonius, 118. *Caligo* is found chiefly in p. Aug. prose and in the poets, but with *tenebrae* is frequent in class. prose.

2. **denuntiabat quod . . excessurus esset:** The use of *quod* or *quia* followed by a finite mood instead of the accusative infinitive construction, after such verbs as *dico, aio, nuntio* etc. is characteristic of p. c., and especially of eccl. Latin. Parallel with this development, however, the infinitive use increases after verbs of feeling and willing. It may be that translations from Greek in use in the primitive Church aided in the extension of the use of *quod* and *quia,* but its origin probably should be traced to a well-known Latin idiom, viz., *quod,* " the fact that," which forms a construction so closely allied in value to that in which the infinitive occurs, that it is difficult at times to give one precedence over the other. Greek influence may be seen in the use of *quod* and *quia,* after declarative verbs, as translations of ὅτι, and of *quoniam* for ὅτι and διότι, frequent in the Bible. In general the mood used in such constructions seems to be determined by the intention of the writer, the indicative showing a direct affirmation or denial, the subjunctive the thought of another, or the writer's own thought indirectly expressed. Before a direct quotation *quia* alone is admitted, therefore the indicative is found with *quia* more often than with *quod.* Cf. Goelzer (2), 264 ff., Bonnet, 661 ff., Salonius, 320.

3. . . **excessurus esset e terris:** This and similar expressions, such as *excessurus a* or *de mundo,* were common among ecclesiastical writers as periphrases of *mori,* a word they seldom applied to the death of a Christian. Cf. Watson, 284.

4. **Ipsa . . elementa:** hyperbaton, a figure which for the sake of emphasis separates words ordinarily found in juxtaposition, here *ipsa* and *elementa.*

5. **Coelem tenebris obductum:** For a similar expression in Ambrose, cf. In Ps. 118, 3, 8, *coelum obducebat tenebris.*

6. **aquarum alluvionibus:** In class. Latin the plural of *aqua* generally conveyed the idea of several streams in the same locality. The frequent use of the plural found in the Scriptures seems to be mainly due to Hebrew influence. Cf. Jepson. 4.

7. **Quidni . . praeveniret?:** Personification combined with interrogatio. Interrogatio consists in using the interrogative form for the sake of dramatic effect.

8. **rapiendum:** In the sense of "to carry off prematurely by death," *rapiendum* is found in poetry and post Aug. prose.

9. **mundi istius:** *mundus* in the class. sense means "the universe"; among eccl. writers it means "this world" in contrast to "heaven." The demonstrative pronouns *hic, is, iste* and *ille* required fine distinctions of meaning in class. usage. *Hic* signified an object present, *is* one already mentioned or about to be mentioned, *iste* properly referred to the second person or, used in reference to an opponent, might express contempt, *ille* the demonstrative of the third person suggested remoteness. Eccl. writers neglected these distinctions so that *iste* came to be used for *hic* and sometimes for *is,* in referring to an object in the vicinity of the writer, or one in which he was interested. In patristic literature οὗτος ὁ κόσμος was translated by *iste mundus* instead of *hic mundus,* the class. form. The phrase first occurs in Cyprian. Cf. Ad Dem. 19 c. Ambrose has frequent examples of its use. Cf. De Poen. 2, 11, 107; De Sp. S. 1, 16, 161; ib. 2, 5, 33; ib. 26, 49, 50; De Fuga Saec. 7, 38: De Par. 1, 3, 14; ib. 12, 55; In Ps. 36, 28 etc. For another example in this treatise, cf. 29. Frequent examples of the class. *hic mundus* are offered by Ambrose. In this treatise, cf. 16. Cf. also De Abr. 2, 8, 58, 59, 60, 62; De Cain et Abel, 1, 6, 23; De Noe et Arca 1, 2, 4; Hex. 6, 2, 8 etc. In Ps. 48, 23 presents both constructions. A further change in the use of demonstratives is seen in the pronoun *iste* which lost its deprecatory idea so far as to be used in reference to Christ. *Hic* and *iste* are sometimes found as near equivalents of the Greek definite article. *Ille* is frequently so used. *Hic* and *istic* as adverbs are used in religious language to designate this world in opposition to *illic,* the next world. Cf. Meader 120 ff.; Goelzer (1) 403, Colbert 30, Bayard 130.

10. **cum criminum . . praeveniret:** The leniency of Theodosius is noted in Them. 15, 816, 212; Lib. 14, 15; Pac. 36, 45 Aug. De Civ. Dei 5; Oros. VII; Claud, 4 Hon. and Zos. 4.

11. **criminum poenas indulgentia:** In ante Aug. prose *crimen* in the sense of "crime" is rarely found except in Cicero. Cf. de Or. 1, 40, 182; Verr. 3, 49; Cael. 71. Among class. writers *indulgentia* means "fondness" or "tenderness"; among eccl. writers it may express favor, goodness or forgiveness. Cf. Cyp. 249, 21 *indulgentia criminis.*

12. **praeveniret:** when used, as here, with an accusative is post Aug. Its occurrence in Cic. Off. 3, 7, 33 is of doubtful ms. authenticity.

Section 2.

1. **Et ille . . supernam:** metaphor, the representation of one idea under the image of another. *Regnum* and *tabernacula Christi* are metaphors of Biblical origin, signifying heavenly reward. *Hierusalem,* used for the heavenly city, is common among eccl. writers through the influence of the Apocalypse. Cf. Apoc. 3, 12; 21, 2. Ambrose uses it frequently as *Hierusalem, quae in caelo est,* or *caelestis, civitas aeterna, civitas sanctorum, sancta* etc. For examples in this treatise, cf. 31 and 56. Cf. also, Exp. in Luc. 8, 96; De Abr. 2, 9, 62; De Vir. 1, 14, 85; Ep. 15, 4; Ep. 71, 13; De Sp. S. 1, 16, 154. For a different application, cf. De Ob. Val. 5. *Hierusalem, id est, Ecclesia.*

2. **accipere:** an infinitive used to express purpose. This construction sometimes called the Greek infinitive was used in the class. period by poets only. During the imperial epoch it became common in prose, and is found frequently among eccl. writers, replacing the supine after verbs of motion, as in the present instance. Cf. Goelzer (1), 370; Goelzer (2), 230; Stolz-Schmalz, 420 ff.

3. **in tabernacula Christi:** For a similar expression used in reference to Gratian, cf. In Ps. 61, 27. *Habeo habitaculum meum in Domini tabernaculo.* Among Christian writers *tabernaculum* came to mean a sacred dwelling erected to the honor of God.

4. **pietas:** in the sense of "piety"; i. e. love and reverence for

God, as here, is eccl.; in the sense of "filial devotion" it is class. Ambrose uses the word with both meanings in the present treatise. Cf. Introd. 29.

5. **supernam:** is a late adjective coined from a preposition. It is used frequently as a substantive to mean "heaven" in contrast to *infernus,* "hell." It is used here in an adverbial sense.

6. **Cf. Ps. 47, 9.** Where Ambrose has *ita et vidimus,* the Itala has *ita vidimus,* the Vulgate *sic vidimus.* Where Ambrose has *quam Deus fundavit,* the Itala has *Deus fundavit,* the Vulgate *Deus fundavit eam.*

7. **Sed plurimos tamquam paterno destituto praesidio dereliquit:** *Paterno* and *praesidio* form an hyperbaton. Cf. 1, note 4. *Plurimos tamquam dereliquit* is an example of comparison, a figure allied to metaphor with the sign of resemblance expressed.

8. **dereliquit:** used in the sense of *reliquit,* "leave behind," is post-Aug.

9. **Sed non sunt destituti, quos pietatis suae reliquit haeredes; non sunt destituti quibus Christi adquisivit gratiam:** An example of correctio, a figure in which, for emphasis, an author denies his own statement; and of an imperfect anaphora, the repetition of the same word or words at the beginning of successive phrases, clauses or sentences, a favorite device of the Roman orator; and of homoioptoton, a figure caused by similarity of inflection in successive members of the sentence.

10. **Quos . . . haeredes reliquit:** For a similar expression in Ambrose, cf. De Ob. Val. 39, *haereditatem illis caritatis suae et gratiae derelinquere.*

11. **exercitus fidem:** i. e. the fidelity of the soldiers. *Fides* in the Old Testament has the class. meaning "trust," "reliance" or "fidelity," as here; in the New Testament it signifies the supernatural virtue of faith. Theodosius won the fidelity of the army by the general amnesty granted to those who had taken part in the revolt of Maximus and later of Arbogast and Eugene. Claudian (cf. 4, Hon. 114-12) says of this amnesty:

> *paci non intulit viam*
> *post acies odiis idem qui terminus armis*
> *profuit hoc vincente capi, multosque subactos*

prospera laturae commendavere catenae
magnarum largitor opum, largitor honorum
pronus et in melius gaudens convertere fata.
hinc amor, hinc validum devoto milite robur.
hinc natis mansura fides.

12. **favere pietati, ultoremque esse perfidiae:** antithesis, a figure by which opposing ideas are brought together for contrast.

Section 3.

1. **conclamavimus obitum:** *conclamare* is frequently found among late writers as a technical term, in the language of religion, to express mourning for the dead.

2. **quadragesimam celebramus:** The adjective *quadragesima* is here used as a substantive meaning the fortieth day, not Lent as common among the Fathers. The death of Theodosius occurred the night of January 17, 395, so his funeral obsequies were held on February 25.

3. **adsistente . . altaribus:** *adsistere* in p. c. times had the force of the class. *adesse; altare* is used regularly by eccl. writers to designate the Christian altar, instead of *ara,* the word used for the pagan altar. Here *altaribus* meaning the sacrifice of the Mass is an example of metonymy in which the sign stands for the thing signified.

4. **Honorio principe:** the younger son of Theodosius, summoned to Milan and made Emperor of the West at the time of the last illness of Theodosius, toward the close of the year 394.

5. **quadraginta diebus:** an ablative expressing duration of time. This construction, rare in Cæsar and Cicero, became more frequent in Livy, Tacitus and Suetonius, and in the succeeding epoch formed the ordinary usage, though the accusative is also found. The ablative here may be due to the influence of the Biblical quotation which follows.

6. **humationis:** very rare in the sense of "burial." It occurs twice in Cicero with this meaning, in Tusc. 1, 43 and 102, once in Ausonius in II, 7, 12, and here only, in Ambrose.

7. **lectio:** in the sense of "text" is p. c.

8. **Gen. 50, 2, 3.** Here Ambrose quotes the Itala literally. The Vulgate reads: *Praecepitque servis suis medicis ut aromatibus condirent patrem; quibus iussa explentibus transierunt quadraginta dies; iste quippe mos erat cadaverum conditorum; flevitque eum Aegyptus septuaginta diebus.*

9. **solemnitas:** p. c.

10. **lectio:** Cf. 3, note 6.

11. **Deut. 34, 8.** The quotation is according to the Itala. The Vulgate reads: *Fleveruntque eum filii Israel in campestribus Moab triginta diebus; et completi sunt dies planctus lugentium Moysen.*

12. **pietatis:** here used in the class. sense of "filial devotion." For the later meaning "love of God," cf. 2, note 4.

Section 4.

1. **Bonus itaque . . . soboles bona:** an imperfect kuklos. This figure is formed by beginning and ending a period with the same word.

2. **cuique:** relative *cui* and *-que.*

3. **Cf. Gen. 49, 25, 26.** Where Ambrose has *adjuvet . . . mamillarum,* the Itala has *Et adjuvet . . . uberum.* Where Ambrose has *benedictiones matris tuae et propter benedictiones patris tui,* the Itala reads: *benedictiones patris tui et matris tuae.* The Vulgate reads: *Deus patris tui erit adjutor tuus et omnipotens benedicet tibi . . . benedictionibus uberum et vulvae. Benedictiones patris tui confortatae sunt benedictionibus patrum eius.*

4. **Celebrat . . quadragesimam patris . . Theodosii quadragesimam:** an example of chiasmus, a figure of arrangement in which the order followed in one clause is reversed in the other.

5. **iste . . illius:** Here *iste* is equivalent to *hic* in contrast with *illius.* Cf. 1 note 7.

6. **quadragesimam:** Cf. 3, note 2.

7. **Jacob, supplantatoris:** epitheton, the addition of an epithet to a name.

8. **supplantatoris:** eccl. It is found, as here, used as an epi-

thet of Jacob, in Jerome. Cf. Jerome Ep. 39, 6; adv. Pelag. 3, 8; in Os. 3, 10, 11. For the statement that Jacob means one who supplants, cf. Gen. 27, 36.

9. **qui imitatus Jacob supplantavit perfidiam tyrannorum, qui abscondit simulacra gentium:** anaphora (cf. 2, note 9), homoioptoton (cf. 2, note 9.), and asyndeton. The latter figure consists in the omission of connectives.

10. **tyrannorum:** Maximus a usurper, defeated by Theodosius in 388, and Eugene in 394.

11. **qui abscondit simulacra gentium; omnes enim cultus idolorum fides eius abscondit:** an imperfect kuklos in chiastic arrangement. Cf. 4, notes 1 and 4.

12. **simulacra gentium:** a Biblical expression. Cf. Ps. 113, 4. *Simulacra gentium argentum et aurum. Gentium* is used in the Vulgate and by eccl. writers for *gentilium,* to mean those outside the true religion. Ambrose employs both words with the same meaning. Cf. De Jac. 2, 5, 25, *Beata Rachel quae abscondit cultus erroresque gentilium, quae simulacra eorum* etc.; ib. 7, 33, *ibi eripiuntur et absconduntur simulacra gentium.*

13. **omnes enim cultus idolorum fides eius abscondit, omnes eorum ceremonias obliteravit:** anaphora, homoioptoton and homoioteleuton. The last named figure consists of successive clauses ending in the same sound. It is characteritic of artistic Greek prose.

14. **cultus idolorum:** in constant use among eccl. writers for the worship of false gods. Cf. Peter, 1, 4, 3, *et illicitis idolorum cultibus.* The Theodosian Code shows that idolatrous worship and the ceremonies of paganism were gradually abolished by a series of decrees which forbade the worship of idols, auguries, sacrifice in pagan temples, etc. throughout the realm. Theodosius more than any of his predecessors dealt paganism its death blow. For two such degrees, cf. Theod. Code XVI, 10, 9; XVI, 10, 11 (App. 2).

15. **doluit quam dederat periisse indulgentiam et veniam denegatam:** chiasmus. Cf. 4, note 4.

16. **periisse indulgentiam:** In a communication to the Senate Theodosius expressed regret that the death of Flavian, the consul

who had taken sides with the usurpers, had deprived him of the pleasure of granting him pardon. Cf. Orel. Inscr. 5593. *Divi avi nostri venerationem esse, si eum quem vivere nobis servarique vobis quae verba eius apud vos fuisse plerique meministis optavit.* The son of Flavian was granted pardon and shown special marks of favour. Cf. Rauschen 413.

17. **indulgentiam:** Cf. 1, note 10.

18. **sed non negabunt . . non negabunt:** geminatio, a figure consisting of the intentional repetition of a word or words, either immediately or after the interposition of other words.

19. **quidam interturbare conatus sit:** From the foregoing passages, it appears that opposition arose in regard to the general amnesty granted by Theodosius to those who had taken sides with Arbogast and Eugene, and that pardon was denied in certain cases. According to Orosius two only were victims (Eugene was killed by one of the soldiers and Arbogast committed suicide), cf. Oros. 7, 35 *formudulosissimum bellum sine sanguine usque ad victoriam et in victoria duorum morte confectum est.* That Ambrose urged upon the Emperor the duty of such pardon is seen from his letters. In Ep. 61, written after the news of the victory had reached Milan, he congratulates the Emperor saying: "Other emperors in the hour of victory order triumphal arches to be erected or other tokens of triumphs. Your clemency prepares a sacrifice to God and desires that through the Bishop oblation and the act of thanksgiving be celebrated to the Lord. I brought your letter to the altar with me, I placed it on the altar. I held it in my hand when offering the sacrifice; in order that your faith might speak with my voice . . . I hope . . as through your mercy the Church of God gives thanks . . , it may rejoice in the forgiveness of the accused. Pardon especially those who have not offended before." Ep. 62 also urges clemency. A series of laws, passed during the year following the Emperor's death, show that his sons carried out their father's wishes in regard to granting mercy to the vanquished, one of the decrees actually beginning with the words, *Fas est sequi nos paternae dispositionis arbitrium.* For these laws, cf. Theod. Code, XV, 14, 9; XV, 14, 10; XV, 14, 11; XV, 14, 12 (App. 2).

20. **interturbare:** a. and p. c. For a similar example, cf. In Ps. 38, 6. *qui interturbare gestit affectum.*

21. **quod in commune donavit . . quod singulis dedit:** antithesis, anaphora, homoioteleuton. Cf. 2, note 12, 9; 4, note 13.

Section 5.

1. **nihil gloriosius exitus . . nihil, inquam speciosius:** geminatio. Cf. 4, note 18.

2. **exitus:** meaning "death," eccl.

3. **regnum, potestatem, nomen augusti:** asyndeton. Cf. 4, note 9.

4. **nomen augusti:** Arcadius had been declared Augustus in 383; Honorius in 393. Cf. Rauschen, 146, 389.

5. **speciosius:** frequent in the post Aug. age.

6. **in aliquantis:** Post class. writers used the plural of *aliquantus, tantus* and *quantus* in an entirely different sense than their predecessors. Class. authors used these words to express magnitude, later writers as synonyms of *aliquot,* or *aliqui, tot* and *quot,* so that they corresponded with τοσοῦτοι, πόσοι ὅσοι. Cf. Goelzer (1), 413.

7. **promissa . . relaxatio:** hyperbaton. *Relaxatio* is Ciceronian. Cf. de Or. 2, 22; Fin. 2, 95; Fam. 7, 1. By a law dated June 12, 393, Theodosius ordered the abrogation of a tax increase which Tatian had imposed some years before. Cf. Theod. Code XI, 1, 23 (App. 2). That Theodosius expected opposition from some quarter may be inferred from a law of the same date, ordering the restoration of confiscated property, *sine dubitationis obstaculo.* Cf. Theod. Code VIIII, 42, 12; Cf. also VIIII, 42, 13 (App. 2).

8. **facta est successio eius indulgentiarum haereditas:** metaphor. Cf. 2, note 1. That Honorius accepted this legacy may be inferred from a law dated March 24, 395, two months after his father's death. By it more than 500,000 persons whose lands had been ruined were exempted from paying tribute. Cf. Theod. Code, XI, 28, 2 (App. 2).

9. **sibi odium fecit Theodosio . . cumulus gratiae:** antithesis.

10. **si enim privatorum ultimae voluntates . . firmitatem: quomodo . . principis esse irritum testamentum?** interrogatio, antithesis, chiasmus.

11. **perpetem:** equivalent to *perpetuam,* ante and post class. Cf. Pl. Truc. 2, 2, 23; Prud. Cath. 10, 42.

12. **qui non . . testatus est:** a causal relative clause, which ordinarily takes the subjunctive. In old Latin the indicative was somewhat common. Cf. Pl. Per. 7.

13. **nihil habebat novum:** hyperbaton.

14. **quibus totum dederat:** *Totus* is here used as an equivalent for *omnes,* a peculiarity foreign to classic language, but common to vulgar speech. *Totus* is employed correctly in speaking of objects measured, incorrectly of objects counted. Through this same confusion, *tanti, quanti* and *aliquanti* were used for *tot, quot,* and *aliquot.* Cf. 5, note 6. Cf. also, Goelzer (2) 673; Bonnet 276; Gabarrou 156.

15. **praesenti . . parenti:** Stilicho, appointed guardian of Honorius.

16. **de subditis . . commissis:** participles used as substantives. This usage became greatly extended in p. c. times. Class. prose allowed the substantival use of adjectives and participles in the nominative and accusative neuter. With Tacitus and later writers the neuter appears in all cases. The partitive genitive and neuter plural, though rare in Cæsar and Cicero, are frequent in Sallust and the poets. Cf. Cic. ad Fam. 9, 15, *Summa pectoris.* The present participle used as a substantive in the nominative singular is found in Plautus and Terence but is avoided in the class. age. The oblique cases are so used in both singular and plural but their usage in later Latin is greatly extended. The perfect passive participle is frequent as a substantive in Plautus and Terence. In the class. age the masculine singular is rare. Cf. Cic. Milo 75, *mortuus.* During the late class. period, the substantival and attributive use of the future participle becomes frequent and among eccl. writers the future idea is often lost. Thus in Arnob. 51, 9, *creditūri* is used as *credentes,* i. e. the faithful. Cf. Stolz-Schmalz, 608 ff.

17. **ut legata dimitteret, fidei commissa signaret:** Homoioteleuton and isocolon, a figure wherein successive clauses have about the same number of syllables.

18. **fidei commissa;** a common legal expression, "left in trust," i. e. personal trust, not strictly binding in law. For the law of

fidei commissa, cf. Theod. Code IIII, 4, 2 (App. 2). The pagan senator Symmachus calls this law the most glorious of all those passed by Theodosius. Cf. ep. 2, 13, ad Flavianum, *cum civiles et bellicas laudes domini nostri Theodosii stili honore percurrerem . . etiam leges . . admiscui haec recens sanctio de fide commissis et codicillorum commodis ab optimo principe in aeternum repudiatis . . claritudine egreditur lucem superiorem.* Theodosius refused such legacies as were left him by simple codicil or letter, on the ground that such opened the way for fraud, and he also imposed this law on his relatives, though he left to other private individuals the right of inheriting by this process.

19. **Quid dignius . . lex sit?:** interrogatio.

Section 6.

1. **imperator recessit a nobis, sed non totus recessit:** metaphor and correctio. Cf. 2, note 9.

2. **in quibus eum debemus agnoscere, et in quibus . . cernimus et tenemus:** metaphor, homoioptoton, anaphora.

3. **fides militum imperatores perfecta est aetas:** metaphor.

4. **fides militum:** Ambrose was eager to insure for the young emperors the fidelity of the army. Cf. 2, note 11. Note also In Ps. 118, 9, 2, *Ut miles qui imperatorem diligit bella pro imperatore suscepta non metuit.*

5. **perfecta est aetas; est enim perfecta aetas:** chiasmus.

6. **Reciproca:** a late class. word frequent in the post class. age. Cf. Plin. 2, 44, 44; Jerome Ep. 5, 1.

7. **fides imperatoris militum virtus est:** metaphor. Ambrose expresses this thought in De Fide 1, Prol. 3, *Nosti enim fide magis imperatoris quam virtute militum quaeri solere victoriam. Fides* here is the supernatural virtue of faith (Cf. 2, note 11) as is evident from what follows.

Section 7.

1. **quos vobis triumphos adquisiverit:** metaphor, hyperbaton.

2. **Cum locorum . . Theodosius Deus?:** After crossing the Alps the troops of Theodosius had to descend by a narrow defile

into a plain, which with the surrounding heights was occupied by the concentrated forces of Arbogast and Eugenc. Contemporary historians tell of the straits in which the Emperor found himself, and state that his prayer was followed by victory. Cf. 7, note 13. Ambrose gives the special incident of *Ubi est Theodosii Deus?,* which is significant in that those very soldiers were present in the Church and were actually addressed by Ambrose. Cf. 10, *milites qui circumfusi estis.*

3. **locorum angustiis et impedimentis calonum:** chiasmus. Ambrose is an imitator of Sallust when treating of war. Cf. Ihm, 66. For a similar treatment in Ambrose, cf. Ep. 6, 13, *loci ingenio et subsidio naturae.*

4. **inequitare . . belli:** p. c. in the sense of "insult" as here. Cf. Arnob. 7, 30. *bellum* is equivalent to *proelium* in late Latin.

5. **desilivit equo:** *ex equo* was the class. term for dismounting or falling from a horse. For the rare *de equo,* cf. Pl. Mil. 721; Cic. Clu. 62, 175. Cf. Guillemin 85 ff. The use of *equo* with *ab* or without a preposition as here is found in poetry and p.-Aug. prose. Cf. Virg. Aen. 11, 500; Sen. Ep. 64, 10; Tac. ann. 15, 28.

6. **Ubi est Theodosius Deus?:** For the Biblical phrase, cf. Ps. 113, 2, *Ubi est Deus eorum;* Mich. 7, 10, *Ubi est Dominus Deus tuus?* Ambrose in speaking of temptation and forgiveness of sin quotes the latter in Ep. 71, 21, 22.

7. **Iam hoc Christo proximus loquebatur:** metaphor. In Ps. 36, 16, Ambrose gives the following interpretation to *proximus Christo: Esto ergo subditus, hoc est proximus Christo, ut Legem impleas.*

8. **Christo se adhaerere:** metaphor.

9. **Christo adhaerere:** In the class. age one finds the dative with certain verbs which express the idea of union. With the best writers almost all these words have another construction such as *haerere ad, iungere cum* etc. Among late writers the dative usurped the place of other cases. From the first century on *adhaerere* is found with the dative rather than the accusative. Cf. Goelzer (2) 78 ff. In the present treatise Ambrose uses this verb with the dative. Cf. 29, *adhaerens Deo;* 40, *ei Flaccilla adhaeret, Constantino adhaeret.*

10. **Quo dicto excitavit omnes, et exemplo omnes armavit:** metaphor, chiasmus, homoioptoton and homoioteleuton.

11. **senior aetate sed validus fide:** antithesis, homoioptoton and homoioteleuton.

12. **validus:** chiefly poetic and in p.-Aug. prose.

13. **validus fide:** Concerning this battle we read in St. John Chrysostom, "With such arms (faith and piety) he overthrew two tyrants (Maximus and Eugene) the first and the last, the one without trouble and with no effusion of blood, the other was conquered in battle. When the enemy had the advantage and his men seemed to slacken, Theodosius jumped from his horse fell on his knees and implored the help of heaven. A wind suddenly arose, etc. He owed the soldiers nothing of his triumph, it was due but to his faith." Cf. Hom. 6, 516. All pagan and Christian writers of the time note the storm which arose at the point in the battle, when victory for Theodosius seemed impossible. A violent wind suddenly arising blew in the faces of the enemy, and blinded them with sand so that their weapons did damage to their own ranks and left the Emperor's troops unharmed. Cf. Oros. 7, 35, *ineffabilis turbo ventorum in ora hostium ruit.;* Claud. 3 cons. Hon. *O nimium dilecte deo . . . cui militat aether!* Cf. also Aug. de Civ. Dei 5; Ruf. 2; Zos. 4; Theod. 5. Ambrose in Ps. 36, 25 says that in this warfare of sin against the just the weapons of the enemy are returned against themselves. "Thus in the late war when the unbelievers and sacrilegious harassed one trusting in God, and strove for his kingdom, fiercely threatening the Church of God, suddenly a wind arose which tore the shields from their hands and turned their weapons against the army of the devil."

Section 8.

1. **Theodosii ergo fides fuit vestra victoria; vestra fides filiorum eius fortitudo sit:** metaphor, isocolon, homoioptoton and alliteration. The last-named figure consists in the repetition of the initial letter of a series of words.

2. **Fides ergo auget aetatem:** metaphor.

3. **nec Abraham . . Sara ut pareret:** reminiscent of Rom. 4, 19.

4. **ut . . generaret . . ut pareret:** *ut* with the subjunctive to express time is a phenomenon found occasionally in a. and p. c. Latin, apparently by analogy with the *cum* temporal construction. The imperfect subjunctive as here is most frequently found, but occasional examples occur of the present, perfect and pluperfect. Cf. Ter. Hec. 378, *iam ut limen exirem;* Pereg. 29, 5, *iam ut dimittatur populus;* Pass. Perpet. 18, *ut sub conspectu Hilarium pervenerunt;* Avit. 3, 226 *ut bacchantem suasissent.* Cf. Löfstedt 97 ff.; Goelzer (2) 347; Stolz-Schmalz 572 ff.

5. **Cf. Hebr. 11, 1:** *Est autem fides sperandarum substantia rerum argumentum non apparentium.*

6. **Scripturae:** ordinarily found in the sing. which in class. language means "writing," in eccl. "the Scriptures." Of the four examples in this treatise, three are in the sing. Cf. 12, 14, 28.

7. **Ergo si substantia eorum quae sperantur fides est, quanto magis eorum quae videntur?:** Interrogatio and homoioptoton.

8. **Hebr. 10, 38:** Ambrose reads: *Iustus autem ex fide vivit; quod si subtraxerit se non placebit animae meae.* The Vulgate is the same but for *meus, iustus autem meus.* The Itala reads: *nam iustus ex fide mea vivit; et si substrahet se, non placebit animae meae in eo.*

Section 9.

1. **Nos autem non subtrahamus nos ad dispendium animae sed inhaereamus fidei ad animae nostrae adquisitionem:** Reminiscent of Hebr. 10, 39. Cf. Itala: *Nos quidem non simus per vestigium in perditionem sed fidei in renascenti animae.* Cf. Vulgate: *Nos autem non sumus subtractionis filii in perditionem sed fidei in acquisitionem animae.*

2. **non subtrahamus nos ad dispendium . . adquisitionem:** antithesis, chiasmus and homoioptoton.

3. **ad dispendium:** *ad* with the accusative of a noun used to denote result or purpose is post class. *Dispendium* is found chiefly in ante and post class. Latin.

4. **in hac fidei militia:** metaphor. *Militia,* as here used for spiritual warfare, is eccl. For its class. use, "service" or "office," cf. Ambrose, Ep. 40, 4.

5. **haereditatem nobis fidei reliquerunt:** metaphor.

6. **Abraham qui non . . credidit, Isaac, qui . . expavit, Jacob, qui . . agit:** anaphora, homoioteleuton, isocolon.

7. **qui non operibus sed ex fide iustificatus est; quoniam Deo credidit:** Cf. Rom. 4, 2, *Si enim Abraham ex operibus iustificatus est habet gloriam sed non apud Deum. . . credidit Abraham Deo.* For the same expression in Ambrose, cf. De Sacramentis 1, 1; Hex. 1, 3, 9; De Fide Res. 89.

8. **Isaac qui per fidem nec gladium feriturі parentis expavit:** For a similar expression in Ambrose, cf. In Ps. 118, 21, *Isaac . . nequaquam tamen gladium feriturі parentis horruerit. Feriturі* is here used as an attributive adjective, a use common among eccl. writers.

9. **per fidem:** For Ambrose's exposition of the use of *ex, per* and *in,* cf. De Sp. S. 2, 9, 85, *Voluit enim cum dicitur ex illa materiam designari; per illum quoddam vel instrumentum operis vel ministerium declarari; in illo aut locis significatur aut tempus in quo omnia facta videantur.*

10. **Jacob . . fidei vestigiis intentus:** metaphor. *Intendere* in the sense of *intueri,* "to gaze at attentively," is post class.

11. **vocavit concilium Dei:** The Bible has *castra Dei.* Cf. Gen. 32, 1. Elsewhere Ambrose uses *castra.* Cf. De Jac. 2, 6, 26, *Denique vidit (Jacob) castra Dei.* Cf. also De Bono Mortis, 1, 11, 51.

Section 10.

1. **eum circumfusus Syrorum obsedit:** hyperbaton. For a similar reference to Eliseus in Ambrose, cf. Ep. 15, 5; Ep. 22, 11; Sermo. Contr Aux. 11; De Off. 3, 14, 85; ib. 1, 29, 139, 140.

2. **ait ad Dominum suum:** a verb of saying followed by *ad* with the accusative. This development of the preposition *ad* is common among late writers.

3. **4 Kings 6, 15, 16.** Where Ambrose says: *quoniam nobiscum plures sunt,* the Itala reads: *quia plures sunt nobiscum. Et rogavit . . nequaquam videntes* is a free rendering of the substance of verses 17, 18 and 19. Cf. 4 Kings 17, 18, 19 where the Itala reads:

Et oravit Elisaeus ad Dominum, et dixit, adaperi Domine, oculos pueri huius et videat. Et adaperuit Dominus oculos pueri, et vidit: et ecce mons erat plenus equis et curribus in gyro Elisae. Percute Deus caecitate exercitum Syriae. Venite post me et ducam vos ad hominem quem quaeritis. The Vulgate reads: *Heu! heu! heu! domine mi, quid faciemus? At ille respondit: Noli timere; plures enim nobiscum sunt, quam cum illis. Cumque orasset Eliseus ait: Domine aperi oculos huius ut videat. Et aperuit Dominus oculos pueri, et vidit, et ecce mons plenus equorum et curruum igneorum in circuitu Elisei . . . porro Eliseus oravit ad Dominum dicens: Percute obsecro, gentem hanc caecitate. Percussitque eos Domine ne viderent . . . Duxit ergo eos in Samariam.*

4. **Audistis certe milites . . quia ubi perfidia, ibi caecitas est:** metaphor. For *quia* with the indicative instead of the class. construction after *audistis,* cf. 1, note 2.

5. **ubi perfidia, ibi caecitas est. Merito . . infidelium. Ubi autem fides ibi exercitus angelorum est:** A double anaphora broken by a short clause, which, however, does not destroy the rhetorical effect. Parison is also exemplified here by the presence of successive clauses having the same general structure and length.

6. **Merito ergo caecus erat exercitus infidelium:** For note on the sand-storm which blinded the army of the usurper, cf. 7, note 13. As Eugene had granted concessions to the pagans, so far as to place the standard of Jupiter at the pass by which the opposing forces must enter Italy, Ambrose puts him in the class of infidels, i. e. pagans or apostates.

7. **Bona itaque fides, quae frequenter operatur in mortuis:** Perhaps reminiscent of Col. 2, 12, *resurrexistis per fidem operationis Dei, qui suscitavit illum a mortuis;* or Acts 17, 31, *Fidem praebens omnibus, suscitans eum a mortuis. Frequenter* used to replace *saepe* is post class.

8. **operatur:** in the sense of "have effect," as here, is late Latin.

9. **adversarius et legiones suae . . martyrum . . torquentur:** metaphor, and antonomasia, a figure in which a characteristic is used instead of a proper name. This device is poetic and commonly used in fourth-century oratory. For a similar use in

Ambrose, cf. Exp. in Luc. 7, 114; In Ps. 47, 22. *Martyrum* is a word frequently used by eccl. writers. *Torquentur* is poetic.

10. **Unde arbitror quod fila chordarum citharae fides dicantur, quoniam mortua sonum reddant:** For *quod* with the subjunctive instead of the classical construction after *arbitror,* cf. 1, note 2. *Quoniam* used in a causal sense takes the indicative in class. Latin. The subjunctive here may be due to attraction. For *quoniam* with the indicative in this treatise, cf. 13.

11. **fila . . citharae:** words found frequently among the poets.

12. **fides dicantur . . . mortua sonum reddant:** paradox, a figure in which a thought is expressed in terms apparently contradictory. *fides,* here used for strings of a musical instrument, by a play on the word suggests *fides* used in a spiritual sense. The expression *mortua sonum reddant* suggests 1 Cor. 14, 7, *Tamen quae sine anima sunt, vocem dantia, sive tibia, sive cithara* etc. Cf. also Mart. Cap. 9, 924, *nam fides apud Delphos per Deliacam Citharam demonstravi.*

Section 11.

1. **Quo magis ac magis:** Note the redundance.

2. **pignoribus:** poetic and p.-Aug. in the sense of *liberi,* as here.

3. **affectum:** p.-Aug. in the sense of "love," as here.

4. **plus debetis defuncto, quam debuistis viventi:** antithesis, homoioptoton and isocolon. *Defunctus* is a past participle used as a substantive. *Viventi* is a present participle used as a substantive. Cf. 5, note 16.

5. **si in liberis privatorum . . temerantur; quanto magis in filiis imperatoris?:** antithesis, homoioptoton, interrogatio. *Temerantur* is poetic, and occurs in p.-Aug. prose.

Section 12.

1. **Addatur eo cuius imperatoris? Imperatoris pii, imperatoris misericordis, imperatoris fidelis:** interrogatio, anaphora, homoioptoton, asyndeton and anadiplosis, a figure which consists in commencing a sentence, clause, or line of poetry with the same

word in which the preceding sentence, clause, or line of poetry closed.

2. **non mediocre:** litotes, wherein an affirmation is secured by denying its opposite.

3. **Scriptura dicens:** the use of the present participle for introducing Scriptural quotations is the rule among eccl. writers. Cf. Bayard, 245.

4. **Magnum et honorabile est homo misericors: invenire autem virum fidelem difficile est:** Cf. Prov. 20, 6. In this quotation Ambrose seems to follow the Greek version which reads: *μέγα ἄνθρωπος καὶ τίμιον ἄνηρ ἐλεήμων, ἄνδρα δὲ πιστὸν ἔργον εὑρεῖν.* The Itala reads: *Grande homo, pretiosum vir misericors; virum vero fidelem opus est invenire,* and the Vulgate: *Multi homines misericordes vocantur; virum autem fidelem quis inveniet?*

5. **quanto magis imperatorem, quem potestas ad ulciscendum impellit, sed revocat tamen ab ultione miseratio?:** interrogatio, combined with chiasmus and antithesis.

6. **ultione:** not ante-Aug.

7. **Quid praestantius . . . extollat potentia, superbia non erigat sed pietas inclinet?:** interrogatio, with chiasmus, homoioptoton, antithesis and asyndeton.

8. **inclinet:** chiefly poetic and p.-Aug.

9. **Prov. 19, 12:** Ambrose's rendering corresponds word for word with the Itala. The Vulgate reads: *Sicut fremitus leonis, ita et regis ira, et sicut ros super herbam ita et hilaritas eius.*

10. **Quantum igitur est deponere terrorem potentiae, praeferre suavitatem gratiae?:** interrogatio, antithesis, homoioptoton, homoioteleuton and asyndeton.

Section 13.

1. **Beneficium se putabat accepisse . . cum rogaretur ignoscere:** The unanimous verdict of writers of his age confirms this statement. They say that he reestablished discipline by severity, liberality and a friendship which gained all (cf. Oros, 34); that he conquered by mildness to the vanquished (cf. Them. 18, 19); that

he did not wish to use severity toward heretics, but to win them by kindness (cf. Greg. Naz. Car. 1).

2. **augustae memoriae Theodosius:** a genitive of quality. This use of the genitive though found in class. times was much less frequent than the ablative of quality. Its development was begun in the imperial age and fostered by later writers, partly through Hebrew influence transmitted by the Greek text of the Scriptures to the Latin Bible. The genitive of quality unaccompanied by an adjective is seldom met before Apuleius. With an adjective as a determinant of a proper noun, it is found rarely in Cicero. Cf. Stolz-Schmalz 363, 381. Cf. also Bonnet 548 ff.; Goelzer (2) 100; Gabarrou 100.

3. **cum rogaretur ignoscere:** With verbs of willing, praying, commanding etc. classical authors used *ad* with the gerundive, or *ut* with the subjunctive. The complementary infinitive was authorized only in certain determined cases. By analogy with certain verbs, and under poetic influence, writers of the imperial epoch and to a greater degree writers of the p. c. age extended the use of the complementary infinitive. Properly speaking *rogare* signifies "to question," then by an extension of meaning, "to pray" or "beg," as here. Cf. Cap. Max. Balb. 6, *rogatus semper ignovit.* Cf. Goelzer (1), 277; Gabarrou, 134 ff.

4. **propior erat veniae, cum . . maior iracundiae:** homoioteleuton.

5. **optabatur in eo, quod in alio timebatur, ut irasceretur:** chiasmus, antithesis, homoioptoton and homoioteleuton.

6. **quasi parens expostulare malebat, quam quasi iudex punire:** comparison, homoioptoton and antithesis.

7. **non . . iudex, non . . arbiter:** anaphora, asyndeton and homoioptoton.

8. **plectere:** in the active voice is ante and post class.

9. **aequitatis iudex:** Cf. Ps. 95, 10, *iudicabit populos in aequitate.*

10. **confitenti:** a participle used as a substantive. Cf. 5, note 16.

11. **tanta imperator ageret verecundia:** hyperbaton.

SECTION 14.

1. **Maximum philosophorum impunitatem ferunt dedisse iis facinoribus, quae per iram commissa forent:** Probably Plato is meant, as Aristotle was less honored in the time of Ambrose, than his master. Aristotle (cf. Nichomachean Ethics, 6) says of anger: "Characters are less unjust in proportion as they involve less insidiousness. Now the angry man is not insidious, nor is anger." Again: "Actions done from anger are thought to be least consequent on moral choice" (ib. 4). Plato (cf. The Laws 9, 8) says: "He who without storing up his anger does on the instant gratify his passion without premeditation is like to the involuntary. The best and truest method is to lay down by law milder (punishments) for those (who kill in anger) without premeditation and suddenly." But again he says: "If the deed took place in a moment of anger, let him in other respects suffer as one who has killed, not in a passion. Let death be the punishment of him who in a passion kills his father or mother." Cf. The Laws, 9, 9.

2. **per iram:** From the classical use of *per* to indicate motion in space were developed modal, instrumental, causal and less clearly defined uses, until *per* came to be used very frequently by late writers. From the Augustan age *per* and the accusative are found where the class. use was regularly *ob* or *propter;* yet even in class. times *per* and the accusative are thus found. For the very expression used in this text, cf. Cic. Tusc. 4, 37, 79, *facere aliquid per iram. Per* with the accusative of the person is also used in class. Latin to express persons used instrumentally. Cf. Livy 22, 3, *per praemissos exploratores.* From these uses of *per* and the accusative grew up the construction *per* and the accusative of the person or thing, found in p. c. Latin for the agent.

3. **scriptura divina:** The customary descriptive adjectives of the Scriptures among eccl. writers were *divina* and *sancta.* Ambrose in this treatise, used *scriptura* without a modifier or *divina* as here. He does not use *sancta* or *sacra.*

4. **Ps. 4, 5:** The Itala has *irascemini,* the Vulgate *irascimini.* Cf. also Paul, Eph. 4. For a similar thought in Ambrose, cf. De Off. 1, 21, 96, *Irascimini ergo ita, ut a culpa abstineatis.*

5. **Satius est in indignatione laudem clementiae reperire,** quam

ira in ultionem excitari: For Ambrose's views on mercy and severity, cf. De Abr. 1, 6, 50, *Ubi gratia largienda est, Christus adest; ubi exercenda severitas, soli adsunt ministri; deest Jesus.* Cf. also De Jacob et Vit. Beata 1, 1, 1; ib. 2, 7, *sed ut ratione se temperet indignationem cohibeat, a puniendo se revocat; sed maluit insolentes rationi cohiberi sciens quod indignationem ratio temperare posset.* In this treatise, cf. 13, note 1.

6. **indignatione:** the meaning "occasion for indignation," as here, is poetic. Cf. Juv. 5, 120, *ne qua indignatio desit;* Suet. Aug. Ammian. 28, 5.

Section 15.

1. **Quis dubitabit . . . praesidium fore?:** interrogatio. The class. construction after negative expressions of doubt is *quin* with the subjunctive. Nepos offers instances of the infinitive with the accusative, and from Livy on this construction becomes frequent.

2. **apud Dominum . . . praesidiunt:** perhaps reminiscent of 1 John, 2, 1, *Advocatum habemus apud Patrem,* which Ambrose paraphrases in De Jac. et Vit. Beata, 1, 6, 21, *sed quia pro me advocatus apud Patrem Christus est.*

3. **validus iuventa:** Arcadius was eighteen years of age at this time.

4. **Honorius pulsat adolescentiae fores:** metaphor. For a similar thought, cf. De Ob. Val. 13, *iuventum in ipso iuventutis vestibulo.* Here Valentinian, about twenty years of age at the time of his death, is represented as already in the vestibule of youth, but Honorius a child of ten is pictured as knocking at the door. *Pulsare ad ecclesiam* is an interesting form of this metaphor used by Cyprian for confession. Cf. Watson 282.

5. **provectior aetate quam Josias:** who was eight years of age when he became king of Israel. Cf. 4 Kings, 22, 1.

6. **tricesimum et primum annum regni:** in class. Latin when numerals are connected by *et* the smaller precedes. Compounds such as *septuaginta et tres* are not uncommon, but are avoided by some writers who prefer *tres et septuaginta,* or *septuaginta tres.*

7. **quoniam, prae ceteris regibus Israel Domini pascha cele-**

bravit: pascha is a Hebrew word used in the O. T. as "passage." It was taken over by eccl. writers for Easter, the Christian pasch. For a similar reference to Josias in Ambrose, cf. De Off. 2, 30, 154. *Fidem diligite, quoniam per fidem et devotionem Josias magnum sibi ab adversariis amorem adquisivit; quoniam celebravit pascha Domini cum esset annorum decem et octo: quem admodum nemo ante eum.*

8. **quadraginta annis regnavit:** according to 3 Kings 15, 10, *Asa quadraginta et uno anno regnavit.* For the remainder of this text, cf. 2 Paral. 14, 11, 12; ib. 16, 3, 8, 12.

9. **quadraginta annis regnavit in Hierusalem:** For the ablative to express duration of time, cf. 3, note 5. Its use here is probably due to Biblical influence.

10. **infinita . . . atque innumerabili:** synonimia, an amplification common among eccl. writers.

11. **Utinam tam fidelis processu, quam devotus exordio!:** exclamatio, homoioptoton, ellipsis by the omission of the verb, and optatio, the impassioned expression of a wish.

12. **devotus:** in its class. sense, "devoted"; in eccl. language as here, "pious," "devout."

13. **auxiliatorem:** p. Aug. and rare. For its use in Ambrose, cf. In Ps. 61, 17, *nullo auxiliatore;* In Ps. 36, 74, *expecta . . . auxiliatorem Dominum.*

14. **derelinquere . . . sed tenere:** antithesis.

15. **incredulus:** an adjective used substantively. In eccl. Latin the word is synonymous with *infidelis,* "an unbeliever."

Section 16.

1. **Abias et Amos ambo infidelis; Theodosius plenus timoris Dei, plenus misericordiae:** antithesis, anaphora, homoioptoton and asyndeton.

2. **infideles:** rare but class. in the sense of "faithless"; with the meaning "unbeliever," eccl. From the description of the idolatries practiced by these two kings, the word here seems to be used in the latter sense. Cf. 3 Kings, 15, 3; 4 Kings, 21, 21.

3. **speramus quod . . . praesul adsistat:** In cl. Latin the accusative with the future infinitive is used after verbs of hoping, promising, threatening etc. relating to the future. In eccl. Latin the present infinitive is found as well as the subjunctive, introduced by *quod,* a construction analogous to *quod* after *dico* etc. Cf. 1, note 2. *Praesul* in the sense of "protector" is post class. *Adsistat* in the meaning "assist" is p. Aug.

4. **si Dominus propitius sit rebus humanis:** For a similar expression in Ambrose, cf. De Poen. 1, 14, *si propitius est nobis Dominus Jesus.*

5. **aliis subvenit, sibi consulit:** homoioteleuton.

6. **in alieno remedio vulnera sua curat:** In p. c. Latin, *in* with the ablative was substituted for the ablative of manner, instrument and means; the latter is found here. The metaphor here used expresses the idea that "charity covereth a multitude of sins." Cf. 1 Peter, 4, 8.

7. **Agnoscit se esse hominem qui novit ignoscere:** paronomasia, a figure securing similarity of sound by means of words of the same root combined with a difference of meaning. For a similar expression in Ambrose, cf. Ap. Proph. Dav. 4, 19, *Ergo et David qui sciret hominem se esse, natum lapsui veniam postulavit. Novit* in the sense of *scire* is post class.

8. **qui maluit redemptor venire, quam iudex:** For like expressions in Ambrose, cf. In Ps. 61, 10, *non movebitur amplius ad indignationem qui venit ad misericordiam; venit ut redimeret nos suo sanguine, non ut nostrum effunderet;* cf. also Ep. 7, 12, *Quid se redimeret a morte, qui carnem susceperat, ut morte sua omnibus resurrectionem adquireret.*

9. **redemptor venire, quam iudex:** antithesis. *Redemptor* in class. language means "a tax gatherer"; in eccl., as here, "the Saviour."

Section 17.

1. **Ps. 114, 1.**

2. **velut ipsum:** comparison.

3. **Dilexi inquit:** prosopopoeia, a figure wherein the charac-

ters treated of, express themselves by means of direct speech. This was a favorite device of the Roman orator.

4. **agnosco vocem . . . vocis agnosco:** kuklos. Cf. 4, note 1. For a similar thought in Ambrose, cf. In Ps. 118, 19, 11. *Deus . . . audit piam vocem, plenam devotionis et gratiae.*

5. **qui . . . implevit, qui . . . servavit, qui dilexit, qui . . . ignovit, qui . . . non passus:** anaphora through five clauses all of which show homoioptoton.

6. **officia . . . implevit, servavit hostes:** chiasmus.

7. **diligentius:** a comparative used for a positive. Among late writers the superlative and comparative degree of an adjective were freely used in a positive sense.

8. **qui dilexit inimicos, qui iis . . . ignovit:** chiasmus.

9. **qui regni affectatores perire non est passus:** a notable example occurred during the year 385, when a group of conspirators was apprehended, and found guilty of holding assemblies hostile to Theodosius and of practicing divination and magic. Among the accused were persons whose guilt consisted in concealment of the affair rather than in positive treason. Theodosius insisted that this group should be considered as innocent, as he wished no one punished for disrespectful words. The actual ring leaders at the insistence of the magistrates were condemned to death, but before their sentence could be carried out, full pardon arrived from the Emperor. In the year 393 Theodosius passed a law forbidding any charge to be brought against those who might speak badly of him, saying that if this occurred through indiscreet levity he should despise it, if through folly he should have compassion, if through bad will he should pardon the offense. He wished merely, that the words should be reported in order that he might examine the affair or disregard it. Cf. Theod. Code VIIII, 4, 1 (App. 2).

10. **affectator:** chiefly p. Aug.

11. **non mediocris, sed perfecti:** antithesis between two adjectives used as substantives.

12. **Rom. 13, 10:** where Ambrose reads: *enim,* the Itala has *autem,* the Vulgate *ergo.*

13. **tacetur genus dilectionis . . . caritatis gratia significatur:** chiasmus. *Caritas* in the meaning "love of God," is eccl.

14. **omnia desiderabilia desiderabile:** *Desiderabilia* is a rare word used among eccl. writers through Biblical influence. Cf. Prov. 8, 11. *Omne desiderabile ei non potest comparari.*

15. **Deut. 6, 5.**

Section 18.

1. **discedens e terris:** metaphor. For *excessurus e terris,* cf. 1, note 3.

2. **pia:** in the sense of "pious," "loving God," is eccl.

3. **sese ad sublimia et superna subrigeret:** alliteration. *Sublimia* and *superna* are adjectives used as substantives. For their sense here, i. e. heaven, cf. 2, note 5.

4. **subrigeret:** in the active voice rare until p. Aug. times. For a similar use in Ambrose, cf. Is. et An. 5, 44, *in superiora se subrigens.*

5. **dicebat, Dilexi:** prosopopoeia, cf. 17, note 3.

6. **Nihil hoc plenius, nihil expressius:** anaphora, asyndeton and homoioptoton. For a similar anaphora in Ambrose, cf. In Ps. 47, 2, *Nihil pulcrius, nihil expressius.*

7. **Quid egisti in terris?:** prosopopoeia.

8. **occultorum enim . . . Deus:** parenthesis, an easily abused figure but useful here as an elucidation of the preceding question.

9. **Dilexi . . . legem implevi . . . evangelium non praeterivi:** prosopopoeia, homoioptoton, homoioteleuton.

10. **Evangelium:** in the sense of "Gospel" is eccl.

11. **morti me obtuli . . . Domino nostro:** prosopopoeia made from a scriptural quotation. Where Ambrose reads: *Morti me obtuli, et tota die aestimatus sum sicut ovis occisionis,* the Itala reads: *morti afficiamur tota die aestimati sumus ut oves occisionis,* and the Vulgate: *mortificamur tota die, aestimati sumus sicut oves occisionis.* Cf. Rom. 8, 36. Cf. also Ps. 43, 22. The concluding text reads the same in the Itala and Vulgate, except where the former has *angelus potestas initia* and *virtus,* the latter has *angeli prin-*

cipatus virtutes and *fortitudo.* Ambrose omits *neque potestas . . . neque instantia, neque futura neque virtus.*

Section 19.

1. **Evangelio:** eccl. Cf. 18, note 10.

2. **dicit ad Petrum:** For *ad* with the accusative after *dicit,* cf. 10, note 2.

3. **John, 21, 15-18:** Where Ambrose reads: *diligis me,* the Biblical versions read: *diligis me plus hic.* Where Ambrose reads: *Tu scis Domine quia diligo te,* the Bible reads: *Etiam Domine tu scis quia amo te,* and Ambrose inverts the words in the last clauses, *tu scis, tu nosti,* where the Biblical version is, *tu omnia nosti, tu scis.*

4. **Et iterum dixit . . . et iterum respondit:** anaphora.

5. **confirmavit caritatem . . . errorem:** Ambrose frequently emphasizes, as here, that St. Peter's threefold declaration of love, absolved him from the fault of his threefold denial. Cf. De Sp. S. 2, 10, 105; De Fide 5, 2 Prolog; Ap. Proph. Dav. 6, 25; ib. 9, 50; Exp. in Luc. 10, 175, 176.

6. **caritatem:** eccl. Cf. 17, note 13.

7. **Ps. 114, 1, 2.** The Itala and Vulgate have *quia* and *et* where Ambrose has *quoniam* and *ut.* Then Ambrose paraphrases the next two verses of the psalm. Cf. Ps. 114, 3, 4. *Circumdederunt me dolores mortis, et pericula inferni invenerunt me. Tribulationem et dolorem inveni et nomen Domini invocavi.*

Section 20.

1. **passione:** p. c.

2. **positus:** = ὤν.

3. **2, Tim. 4, 7, 8:** Where Ambrose reads: *quod reliquum est,* the Itala reads: *De caetero,* the Vulgate: *In reliquo.*

4. **certamina quibus mereatur . . . coronari:** a metaphor drawn from the arena, modelled on the preceding quotation from St. Paul.

5. **mereatur . . . coronari:** In class. prose *mereor* was followed by *ut* and the subjunctive. Its use with the infinitive was borrowed from the poets, but is found in prose writers since Paterculus. Cf. Bayard, 240.

6. **Ps. 114, 1:** Prosopopoeia, in which the Biblical quotation is put into the mouth of Theodosius.

Section 21.

1. **Ps. 114, 2.**

2. **iacentem erigeret, mortuum resuscitaret:** homoioptoton and homoioteleuton. *Iacentem* and *mortuum* are participles used as substantives.

3. **resuscitaret:** in the sense "raise from the dead" is eccl.

4. **corporaliter:** p. c.

5. **condescendat:** formed after the Greek συγκαταβαίνειν is found frequently among eccl. writers.

6. **audire dignetur:** an example of the extended use of the complementary infinitive. Cf. 13, note 3. *Dignor* in the sense of "condescension of a superior" is eccl.

7. **relevare:** a rare word, almost exclusively poetic but, cf. Cic. 1. Att. 13.

8. **nostra . . . oratio:** hyperbaton. *Oratio* in the sense of "prayer" is eccl.

9. **qui Mosen tacentem audivit:** Cf. Exod. 14, 15. Ambrose refers to this passage in De Off. 3, 1, 2; In Ps. 40, 41; In Ps. 38, 3. For his explanation of the text cf. In Ps. 118, 19, 9, 10. *Clamabat Moyses, quia non pro se, sed pro omni populo precebatur. . . . Clamabat affectu pio, et sensu profundo et personabat in coelo. Quid clamas etc. hoc est, Tu solus ad me clamas, qui de me speras.* Cf. also, In Ps. 38, 7, *Sunt autem et qui tacentes loquantur, sicut Moyses qui stabat adtonitus et tacebat cui dixit tacenti Deus, Quid clamas ad me?* Ambrose even puts this expression into the mouth of one of the Maccabees in De Off. 1, 41, 211. *Alius linguam iussus amputandam promere respondit: Non solum Dominus audit loquentes qui audiebat Moysen tacentem.*

10. **loquentem . . . ad se clamare dicebat:** This passage is obscure through the omission of the subject of *clamare.* It refers not to Moses but to the Holy Ghost. Cf. Rom. 8, 26, *Postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus.* Ambrose quotes this passage literally in De Sp. S. 3, 11, 70 and in Ep. 36, 2. In 5 and 6 of this letter we find, *Spiritus advocati nostri Jesu et postulat gemitibus ineffabilibus . . . bene ineffabilis quia caelestis.*

11. **ineffabilibus:** a word frequent in Pliny.

12. **ad se clamare:** For *ad* and the accusative after a verb of saying cf. 10, note 2.

13. **Novit . . . audire:** *Novit = scire.* Cf. 16, note 7. Its use with an infinitive is poetic.

14. **sanguinem audire:** For an interpretation of this passage, Cf. Ep. 32, 6, *Clamavit primum in Abel cuius clamavit vox sanguinis;* De Off. 1, 41, 211, *Habet sanguis vocem suam qua clamat ad Deum sicut clamavit in Abel.* Cf. also Gen. 4, 10, *vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra.*

15. **nulla vox subest, lingua non suppetit:** asyndeton and homoioptoton.

16. **accepit vocem sacrae titulo passionis:** metaphor. In reference to the voice of blood as applied to Christ, cf. De Fuga Saec. 1, 5, 31, *Deus qui in sanguine suo melius locutus est quam Abel;* In Ps. 45, 17, *Dedit vocem suam in passione Dominus et universa elementa tremuerunt.* Cf. also De inter. Dav. 2, 9, 32; In Ps. 118, 6, 33. *Passio* in the sense of Christ's sufferings is eccl.

17. **titulo:** a word frequent in post-Aug. Latin.

18. **Clamavit in martyrio, clamavit in parricidio, quod pertulit pro sacrificio:** anaphora, asyndeton, homoioteleuton, isocolon.

19. **martyrio:** eccl.

20. **in parricidio . . . pro sacrificio:** Reference to Cain and Abel occurs at least twenty times in the works of Ambrose. Cf. De Elia 1, 22, 85, *Ignoras quod Cain propterea displicuerit sacrificium;* De Par. 1, 14, 71, (*Cain*) *fortasse non tam maiori crimine parricidii* (*illud enim commisit in fratrem*) *quam sacrilegii etc.*

21. pro sacrificio: *Pro* in the sense of *ob* or *propter* or instead of the dative alone is a p. c. use of the preposition.

Section 22.

1. **Dilexi, inquit et . . . vitae meae:** prosopopoeia.

2. **in paucis, sed in omnibus diebus vitae meae:** For this reference, cf. Ps. 22, 6. *Misericordia tua subsequetur me omnibus diebus vitae meae.* Cf. also Ps. 26, 4.

3. **in paucis sed in omnibus diebus:** *in* with the abl. to express "time when" is p. c.

4. **fastidientis et non sperantis:** antithesis between two adjectives used as substantives. *Fastidientis* infrequent until p. Aug. age.

5. **1 Thess. 5, 18.**

6. **Quando . . . debeas? aut quando . . . Domino est?:** interrogatio.

7. **quotidie vivendi usus:** For the same expression in Amb. cf. De Par. 1, 9, 44, *hunc vivendi usum sperandique.*

8. **Cf. 1 Cor. 4, 7:** Where Ambrose has *enim,* the Itala and Vulgate have *autem.*

9. **quia quod habes a Domino est, debitorem te semper esse cognosce:** For a similar thought cf. De Int. Job. 1, 6, 19, *Cur putas te habere quod non acceperis? Ergo peccator fateatur.*

10. **quasi diligens quam coactus debitum tuum solvas:** For the same thought in Ambrose, cf. In Ps. 118, 13, 3, *Dominus operationes servulorum suorum spontaneas probat potius quam coactas.*

11. **diligens quam coactus:** antithesis. *Diligens* and *coactus* are participles used substantively.

12. **debitum:** p. Aug. and rare.

Section 23.

1. **dicentem:** a participle used substantively.

2. **Ps. 114, 3.**

3. **me dolores . . . Christo:** prosopopoeia composed of a paraphrase of Ps. 114, 3, and Rom. 8, 35.

4. **non timentem, sed amantem, sed sperantem:** antithesis, anaphora, homoioptoton, homoioteleuton.

5. **nullae angustiae, nulla persecutio, nulla pericula, nulla gladius:** anaphora, and asyndeton. A paraphrase of Rom. 8, 35.

6. **sciens quia operatur:** Where Ambrose uses the singular, as the reference is to Theodosius, the Itala and Vulgate read: *scientes quod operatur. Quia* with the indicative after *sciens* is here used through Biblical influence.

7. **Rom. 5, 3.**

8. **quasi bonus athleta:** comparison.

9. **non suis viribus sed Domini auxilio:** antithesis.

10. **certantes:** a participle used as a substantive.

Section 24.

1. **Miser homo congreditur, ut vincat:** a Scriptural metaphor.

2. **in periculum ruit:** metaphor, meaning exposing oneself to temptation.

3. **nomen adfuerit . . . nisi . . . oraverit:** The future perfect as here used is class., expressive of rapid future action with an implied assurance or threat. Cf. Lane 1629.

4. **Ps. 114, 4.**

5. **illud:** often means "the following," as here.

6. **Rom. 7, 23, 24, 25.** Where Ambrose reads: *legem carnis meae . . . in lege peccati quod,* the Itala and Vulgate have *autem aliam legem in membris meis . . . in lege peccati.* Where *quod* follows in the Itala, the Vulgate reads: *quae.*

Section 25.

1. **Ille vincit qui . . . sperat, non qui . . . praesumit:** metaphor, antithesis and homoioteleuton. *Praesumit* in the sense of "trust" is late. It is found with a similar thought and construction in Jud. 6, 15, *praesumantes de te.*

2. **Cur . . . cum habeas praesulem . . . ?:** interrogatio and metaphor.

3. **Ps. 114, 5.** Ambrose reads: *Misericors enim et iustus Dominus,* where the Itala and Vulgate have *misericors Dominus et iustus.*

4. **Bis misericordiam posuit, semel iustitiam:** asyndeton and zeugma.

5. **in medio iustitia est, gemino septo inclusa misericordiae:** metaphor.

6. **superabundant enim peccata, superabundet ergo misericordia:** reminiscent of Rom. 5, 20, *Ubi autem abundavit delictum, superabundavit gratiae.* This is a favorite theme of Ambrose in encouraging sinners to repentance. Cf. In Ps. 35, 24, *quia ubi superabundavit peccatum persecutionis superabundavit gratia confessionis.* In Ps. 118, 10, 14, and in De Jacob. 1, 6, 22 and 2, 3, 10, he quotes St. Paul almost literally but uses *peccatum* for *delictum.* Cf. also De Abr. 2, 9, 66; Exp. in Luc. 5, 35.

7. **abundantia est . . . virtutum est:** conversio a figure in which the same word or words end successive clauses.

8. **quia Dominus virtutum est:** *Virtutum* as here used in the sense of "virtue," is in keeping with the preceding clause *virtutum abundantia.* The Vulgate translation of *Dominus virtutum,* is God of hosts. Cf. Ps. 23, 10.

9. **Neque iustitia sine misericordia est; neque sine miseratione iustitia:** anaphora, chiasmus and homoioptoton. For a similar thought in Amb. cf. In Ps. 118, 20, 40, *Deus enim misericordiarum plenus est: et misericordia eius cum iudicio, et iudicium cum misericordia; neque sine iudicio miseretur, neque sine misericordia iudicat.*

10. **Cf. Eccl. 7, 17:** Ambrose has *nimium* where the Itala and Vulgate read: *multum.*

11. **Quod supra mensuram est, etsi bonum est, tamen tu non sustines:** Ambrose's constant plea is for moderation and gentleness. In this treatise, cf. 13, 14. Among the many examples which might be cited from his works the following are noteworthy: cf. Ep. 7, 6, *Est autem mensura sapientiae quae si supra mensuram sit nocet;* De Paen. 1, 1, 1, 2, *Moderatio prope omnium pulcher-*

rima est virtutum . . . debet enim iustitiam temperare moderatio; In Ps. 118, 14, 20. *Grande est in omnibus humilitate tenere mensuras.* The following show his love for the poor and his gentleness toward the erring. Cf. In Ps. 118, 8, 22. *Misericordia quidem iustitiae portio est, ut si velis donare pauperibus haec misericordia iustitia est; Et ideo omnibus grata et mansuetudo, quae vulnera interiorum curat animorum.* Ambrose as soldier, as statesman and as pastor of his flock was eminently practical, and considered nothing too trivial to merit his attention. In the following he would receive the support of the best of his fellow countrymen. Cf. De Noe et Arca, 1, 29, 111, *Sicut enim isto bibendi moderamine vinum . . . infirmitatem allevat corporis.*

12. **Mensuram serva, ut secundum mensuram recipias:** sententia, a phrase in epigrammatic form. For the expression *secundam mensuram,* cf. Eph. 4, 7.

Section 26.

1. **impedivit iustitiam misericordia: quia misericordia ipsa iustitia est:** chiasmus.

2. **Ps. 111, 9:** The Itala reads: *disparsit.* Ambrose and the Vulgate: *dispersit.* Ambrose reads: *in aeternum,* where the other versions read: *in saeculum saeculi.*

3. **veniens ad baptismum:** For *ad* with the accusative to express purpose, cf. 9, note 3.

4. **baptismum:** a Christian word taken from Greek.

5. **peccata donaret:** *donare* in its class. sense means "to give." Among eccl. writers it is found in the sense of "to forgive sin." Many examples might be cited for both uses in Ambrose. For its class. meaning, cf. De Sp. S. 1, 8, 84, *donare Spiritum sanctum sua auctoritate non possit.* For the meaning to forgive injuries, cf. ib. 3, 17, 128, *mihi suas donavit iniurias.* For *peccata donare,* cf. ib. 3, 17, 125, 135, 138, 139; De Paen. 1, 1, 4; et saepe. In the present treatise, cf. 26 and 46.

6. **ait ad Iohannem:** For *ait* followed by *ad* with the accusative cf. 10, note 2.

7. **Matt. 3, 15.**

8. **iustitiam esse misericordiam, et misericordiam esse iustitiam:** parison, chiasmus and isocolon.

9. **quomodo . . . expuerit?:** interrogatio.

10. **effusi de calidis:** *de* is here used instead of the class. *ex* with a verb compounded with *ex.* For the class. use in this treatise, cf. 1, *excessurus e terris. Effusi* is chiefly poetic and found in p. Aug. prose.

11. **de calidis in frigida, de humidis in arida:** anaphora, isocolon with a double antithesis, homoioptoton, homoioteleuton, assonance throughout both phrases.

12. **piscium more:** comparison.

13. **naufragos . . . expuerit:** an example of the far-fetched use of simile and metaphor in which Ambrose frequently indulges: For one of his most strained instances, cf. Exp. in Luc. 8, 55, *Ubi fuerit corpus, ibi congregabuntur et aquilae. Nonne tibi videntur aquilae circa corpus Maria Cleophae, et Maria Magdalene et Maria Mater Domini apostolorumque conventus circa Domini sepulturam?*

14. **velut naturae fluctus expuerit:** comparison.

15. **naturae fluctus:** gen. of quality. *Expuerit* is poetic and p. Aug.

16. **Ipse:** among eccl. writers is used frequently for God, as here, in accordance with its class. usage to designate a famous personage.

Section 27.

1. **Bona humilitas quae liberat periclitantes iacentes erigit:** personification, chiasmus and homoioptoton.

2. **periclitantes, iactantes:** participles used substantively.

3. **Cf. 2 Kings, 24, 17:** Ambrose reads: *Ecce sum, ego peccavi et ego pastor male feci; et isti in hoc grege quid fecerunt? Fiat manus tua in me.* The Itala reads: *Ecce sum ego, ego pastor peccavi et ego male feci; grex autem hic quid fecit? In me manum tuam converte, et in domum patris mei.* The Vulgate reads: *Ego sum qui peccavi ego inique egi; isti qui oves sunt, quid fecerunt? vertatur obsecro manus tua contra me et contra domum patris mei.*

4. **Ego pastor male feci:** Ambrose suggests this parallel of the

two monarchs, David and Theodosius, each of whom sinned, acknowledged his sin, and made atonement. On a former occasion, after the massacre at Thessalonica, Ambrose in writing to the emperor used these same words of the Royal Psalmist, urging that as Theodosius had followed David in sinning he should imitate his repentance. Cf. Ep. 51 (App. 1). For the question of the penance of Theodosius cf. Intr. 9 ff.

5. **salutem:** in the sense "salvation" is eccl. Latin.

6. **Humiliavit se Christus ut omnes elevaret:** antithesis with chiastic arrangement. Cf. Philip, 2, 8, *Humiliavit semetipsum factus obediens usque ad mortem.* This passage occurs frequently, especially in the letters of Ambrose. Cf. Ep. 2, 22; 46, 9; 48, 4, etc.

7. **fuerit sequutus:** in cl. Latin *fui* is not found for *sum* nor *fuerim* for *sim* in compound tenses.

Section 28.

1. **humilem:** late Latin. Its use is frequent in the Vulgate.

2. **peccatum obrepsit, veniam postulavit:** homoioptoton and homoioteleuton.

3. **Ps. 114, 7.**

4. **quasi . . . operis sudore exercitae:** comparison.

5. **a labore . . . ad requiem:** antithesis.

6. **Convertitur equus ad stabulum, ubi cursum impleverit; navis ad portum, ubi ad stationem:** anaphora, homoioptoton, zeugma.

7. **ad stationem fidem:** The figure drawn from a ship in harbor is a favorite with Ambrose. Cf. De Jac. 2, 6, 28, *in litore tutissimo . . . fide statione;* ib. 8, 35, *senex . . . in portu, ita in statione est senectutis.* Cf. also, In Ps. 47, 13; In Ps. 48, 9.

8. **secundum:** in the sense "according to," is found among eccl. writers more often than the class. meaning of "immediately after."

9. **Matt. 25, 34:** Ambrose's version is more like the Vulgate than the Itala. The only difference is that the Vulgate omits

haereditate. The Itala reads: *possidete regnum quod vobis praeparatum est de origine huius mundi.*

10. **fidelis:** here used in the class. sense "faithful." The late meaning is "believer."

11. **semel servis suis:** alliteration.

12. **praeparata:** a participle used substantively. The nominative neuter so used was common in class. Latin.

13. **si fides nostra maneat, manet et sponsio:** an imperfect anadiplosis, a figure in which the last word of a clause and the first of the succeeding clause are the same.

Section 29.

1. **Vide, O homo:** apostrophe, the human race being directly addressed as *homo.*

2. **adhuc in terris quatèris, et in coelo possides:** isocolon and antithesis.

3. **Ibi ergo sit cor tuum, ubi est possessio tua:** an adaptation with inversion and change of mood of Matt. 6, 21, *Ubi est thesaurus tuus, ibi est et cor tuum.* The Itala reads: *Ubi enim fuerit . . . ibi erit.*

4. **iustis debetur, negatur indignis:** antithesis, homoioptoton, and chiasmus.

5. **Ps. 94, 11:** where Ambrose reads: *sicut,* the Itala has *donec,* the Vulgate *ut.* The Itala has *introierunt* where Ambrose and the Vulgate have *introibunt.*

6. **qui enim non cognoverunt vias Domini non ingrediuntur in requiem Domini:** A paraphrase of Psalm 94, 11, which reads: *Et isti non cognoverunt vias meas, ut iuravi in ira mea. Si introibunt in requiem meam.*

7. **Qui autem bonum certamen . . . consummavit:** adapted from 2 Tim. 4, 7.

8. **Ps. 114, 7.**

9. **quae mundi sunt . . . supra mundum sunt:** antistrophe, a figure in which there is a repetition of the same word or words

at the end of successive clauses.

10. **illis quae . . . consortiis:** an extreme use of hyperbaton.

11. **coelestibus consortiis:** alliteration. For a similar expression in this treatise, cf. 32. Cf. also, De Ob. Val. 65, *illud supernum sanctorum festinare consortium. Consortiis* is not a. Aug.

12. **properavit:** is subjective and means "eager to hasten," as seen from the present context. *Festinare* is objective and means "to hasten." Ambrose in speaking of the soul released from the body uses *festinare.* In this treatise, cf. 30, *ad requiem festinat.* For the syntax of *properare, festinare,* and *maturare,* cf. Ogilvie, 21.

13. **Ps. 54, 7.**

14. **sanctus:** an adjective used as a substantive.

15. **Haec est requies sabbati . . . Haec est requies illa sabbati:** anaphora.

16. **sabbati magni:** the Jewish feasts of the pasch and pentecost. As Christ's resurrection occurred on the night following the Great Sabbath, Ambrose frequently uses this expression as well as *sabbatum* alone as a type of the resurrection of the just, or eternal rest. Cf. Exp. in Luc. 5, 30, *Sabbata perpetua feriae sunt resurrectionis aeternae;* ib. 8, 25, *Nec otiosum quod sabbato passus est magno, significans fore sabbatum quo mors destrueretur;* Ep. 64, 101, *typus est illius magni sabbati illius quietis perpetuae gratiae.*

17. **unusquisque:** frequent in late Latin.

18. **sanctorum supra mundi sensibilia sit . . . Deo:** alliteration. In this passage Ambrose refers to the changed condition of the blessed in Heaven, where the things of sense (*sensibilia*) will no longer be the medium of knowledge but the secrets of the spiritual life will be intelligible to man, as his understanding will be enlightened through his being close to God. For a similar expression in Ambrose cf. De Fide, 5, 7, 99, *quia ex illo incomprehensibili inenarrabilique secreto maiestatis profundae dedit se.*

19. **sensibilia:** p. Aug. and rare. Here used substantively.

20. **intelligibilis:** p. Aug.

21. **adhaerens Deo:** For adhaerere with the date, cf. 7, note 9.

22. **Haec est requies . . . mundi istius:** The "works of the world" here refer to the creation. For an explanation of a similar passage in Ambrose, cf. Exp. in Luc. 7, 173, *Denique et Deus ab operibus mundi quievit, sed non ab operibus cuius sempiterna et iugis operatio est, . . . ut ad similitudinem Dei saecularia nostra opera, non religiosa cessarent.*

23. **mundi istius:** The use of *iste* for *hic* is plainly seen in the present instance where this world is contrasted with the future life as described in the preceding sentence. For *iste* = *hic* in this treatise, cf. 1, note 9.

Section 30.

1. **Feriatus:** class. when used as a participle. As a verb, *ferias habere* or *agere* is the usual form.

2. **saeculi:** in class. language, "an age" or "century," in eccl. as here, "the world," especially its ideas as opposed to Christian principles. Cf. Goelzer (2) 450.

3. **Theodosius . . . in requiem tuam:** The entire section is metaphorical, made up of a succession of figures wherein the sufferings of this world, because of the material nature of man, are contrasted with the joys of heaven by which the spiritual nature, the image and likeness of God, will be rewarded.

4. **Cf. Ps. 114, 8:** *quia eripuit animam meam de morte; oculos meos a lacrymis.* Cf. also Ps. 55, 13.

5. **saeculi istius:** For *iste* = *hic,* cf. 1, note 9. Ambrose uses *hic* in this expression as frequently as *iste.* Cf. In Ps. Prim. 25; In Ps. 37, 2; Ap. Proph. Dav. 2, 7, etc.

6. **inquietus fluctibus peccatorum:** metaphor.

7. **Cf. Is. 51, 11:** The Itala reads: *an fugit dolor et moeror et gemitus ab illis;* the Vulgate: *Et fugiet dolor et gemitus.* The Greek version is the same as the Itala.

8. **Cf. Apoc. 21, 4:** Where Ambrose reads: *Delebit omnem lacrymam,* the Itala and Vulgate have, *et absterget Deus omnem lacrymam,* otherwise his version reads as the Vulgate, except that where he has *non erit amplius,* the Vulgate reads: *ultra non erit.* Where the Vulgate reads: *neque dolor erit ultra,* the Itala has *sed nec ullus dolor quia priora transierunt.*

9. **lapsum:** when used as equivalent to *culpa,* as here, is eccl.

10. **sentire non poterit:** metaphor.

11. **in illa requie constitutus:** The perfect participle *constitutus* is frequently used in p. c. Latin to take the place of the present participle of *esse* which is lacking, or, under Greek influence, is used to translate ὤν. For Ambrose's use of it in this sense, cf. In Ps. 38, 22, *in hoc corpore constitutos.* For its usual meaning, "to place," cf. Ep. 49, 5, *in paradiso constitutus est.*

12. **Cf. Ps. 114, 9:** *Placebo Domino in regione vivorum.*

13. **Non . . . ita et illic:** hyperbaton. For *illic* used for "the world to come," cf. 1, note 9.

14. **mortis corpore:** a genitive of quality where *mortis* takes the place of *mortali.*

15. **delictis:** as here used for "sin" is eccl. In Ambrose *peccatum* is more common.

16. **regio illa vivorum est, ubi anima est . . . similitudinem Dei facta est:** antistrophe. Cf. 29, note 9.

17. **ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei:** cf. Gen. 1, 27. This expression occurs either literally or in substance in seventy passages in Ambrose. This is perhaps due to the fact that he is especially concerned about the Manichaean doctrine that Adam and Eve were the offspring of devils. For the expression, cf. Hex. 5, 13, 41; De Par. 1, 5; In Ps. 43, 4, etc.

18. **imaginem . . . Dei . . . non de limo:** antithesis with arsis and thesis, a figure of amplification in which an idea is stated positively, then negatively or vice versa.

19. **caro figurata de limo:** For the Biblical reference, cf. Gen. 2, 7. For the same expression in Ambrose, cf. De Par. 1, 10, 46, *ubi hominem finxit Deus de limo terrae;* De Sp. S. 1, 14, 143 *corpora nostra figurata de limo.* Ambrose keeps constantly before his hearers the picture of this body of clay, but he never forgets its dignity as the dwelling place of the soul, and the temple of God. Cf. In Ps. 47, 16, *Vere templum Dei caro illa in qua Dei imago fulgebat.* Again in distinguishing body and soul he says: *Interior est homo noster, qui est ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei factus, exterior qui figurata e limo.* Cf. Ep. 73, 19.

20. **caro in terram, anima ad requiem:** antithesis.

21. **Ps. 114, 7.**

SECTION 31.

1. **ingredi civitatem Hierusalem:** metaphor. For Jerusalem as the heavenly city, cf. 2, note 1.

2. **Apoc. 21, 24.** Ambrose's version is like the Vulgate except that he reads: *ferent* for *afferent* and says: *gloriam suam* instead of *gloriam suam et honorem.* The Itala reads: *claritatem suam in eam.*

3. **quae ibi sumitur . . . quod ibi possidetur:** isocolon, homoioptoton and homoioteleuton.

4. **regnum beatissimum:** metaphor.

5. **Cf. 2 Cor. 5, 8, 9:** Ambrose seems nearer to the Greek version in this quotation than to the Latin. He reads: *consentimus magis . . . et adesse ad Dominum.* The Greek reads: ἐν δοκοῦμεν μᾶλλον . . . καὶ ἐνδημῆσαι πρὸς τὸν Κύριον. The Vulgate reads: *bonam voluntatem habemus magis . . . et praesentes esse ad Dominum.* The Itala reads: *voluntatem habentes magis . . . et praesentes ad Dominum.* Where the Itala and Vulgate read: *contendimus,* Ambrose has *connitimur.* Cf. the Greek φιλοτιμούμεθα.

SECTION 32.

1. **Absolutus . . . certamine:** a metaphor drawn from the arena, through St. Paul.

2. **fruitur Theodosius luce perpetua, tranquillitate diuturna:** metaphor, asyndeton, and homoioteleuton.

3. **remunerationis:** Ciceronian. Cf. de Domo sua, 27, 2, 1; Lael. 49, 2.

4. **gratulatur:** in the sense, "to rejoice" is late Latin.

SECTION 33.

1. **ut . . . concludam:** a weak example of prodiorthosis, in which Ambrose does not express a promise to be brief, but speaks of concluding his sermon, then continues it through twenty-three sections.

2. **quadam . . . peroratione:** hyperbaton.

3. **humilem in imperio, corde puro, et pectore mansueto:** chiasmus, asyndeton, homoioptoton, and homoioteleuton.

4. **humilem in imperio:** In eulogizing the virtues of Theodosius, Ambrose insists upon his humility, perhaps to convey a lesson to the young emperor Honorius, as well as to remind his mixed audience of this marvel created by Christianity, *a humble Roman emperor.* The reward is expressed in Ps. 118, 14, 19, *Beatus qui gloriatur humilitate magis quam potestate,* etc.

5. **Cf. Is. 66, 2:** Ambrose reads: *Supra quem requiescam nisi supra humilem et mansuetum?* The Itala reads: *super quem respiciam, nisi humilem et quietum?* the Vulgate: *ad quem autem respiciam, nisi ad pauperculum et contritum spiritu?*

Section 34.

1. **Dilexi virum qui magis arguentem quam adulantem probaret:** For the law passed by Theodosius concerning those who spoke evil of him, cf. 17, note 9. Ambrose had personal experience of the emperor's sincerity in accepting blame, for after the affair of Thessalonica his royal patron's favour increased rather than diminished. Ep. 63, written four years later, says that he (Ambrose) could never repay the Emperor's kindness. Furthermore, the one for whom Theodosius longed in his last moments was Ambrose. Cf. 35 in this treatise. He seems then, to have understood and appreciated the motive of the Bishop, expressed so strikingly in Ep. 51, 3, "But if the priest speak not to the erring, he who has erred will die in his sin, and the priest will be responsible." Cf. Ep. 51, 3 (App. 1).

2. **arguentem quam adulantem:** antithesis between two participles used as substantives.

3. **stravit omne quo utebatur insigne regium:** during the prescribed period of public penance in the early Church, it was customary for the penitent to lay aside all luxurious attire, that his outward appearance of mourning might reflect his interior dispositions of sorrow and humility which were necessary for the atonement of sin.

4. **Stravit omne quo utebatur insigne regium, deflevit in Ecclesia publice peccatum suum:** isocolon. *Stravit* in the sense "throw to the ground" is poetical, and found in p. Aug. prose.

5. **publice:** as the equivalent of *palam* is p. c.

6. **peccatum suum:** the massacre at Thessalonica. Cf. Int. 9 f.

7. **ei aliorum fraude obrepserat:** According to Theodoret this was Rufinus. Cf. Theod. 7.

8. **Quod privati erubescunt, non erubuit imperator:** Here Ambrose has drawn from Apol. Proph. Dav. 4, 15. *Quod erubescunt facere privati, rex non erubuit confiteri.* Cf. also De Poen. 2, 6, 50. *Quid erubescis tu peccata tua flere cum Deus etiam prophetas iusserit flere pro populis.*

9. **privati . . . imperator:** antithesis.

10. **acies:** in late Latin frequently used as here, for "warfare."

11. **abstinuit a consortio sacramentorum donec . . . adventu:** After his victory over Eugene at the close of the year 394, Theodosius had sent to Constantinople for his son Honorius, the future Emperor of the West. The prince accompanied by Serena, niece of Theodosius and wife of Stilicho his general, arrived at Milan shortly before the Emperor's death. Ambrose says *filiorum adventu,* so it may be that Placidia the daughter of Theodosius, was also in the company, as Arcadius can scarcely have been meant. At all events he was not there at the time of the Emperor's funeral obsequies, as Ambrose states that they were conducted in the presence of Honorius, and makes no mention of the elder prince.

12. **sacramentorum:** In p. c. Latin this word means a mystery, or a significant rite having a divine or religious sanction. St. Ambrose calls the passage of the Red Sea *sacramentum.* Cf. De Sac. 1, 4, 11. St. Cyprian speaks of certain fixed hours for prayer as a sacrament. The special meaning, "a sacred thing which gives grace," became by degrees the accepted usage in theology. Ambrose used the word in both significations, here in the sense of a sacred thing, i. e. penance and the Holy Eucharist, and as the instrument of redemption, he applies the term to the cross of Christ. Cf. 46. Cf. also In Ps. 118, 22, 3, *sacramento Dominicae passionis*

. . . *in illa cruce;* De Jacob et Vita Beata 2, 9, 38, *ab opprobrio crucis Dominicae sacramento.*

13. **donec . . . experiretur:** *donec* meaning "until" in class. Latin takes the indicative. By writers of the imperial epoch it was used freely with the subjunctive as here. Cf. Tac. Ann. 1, 1.

Section 35.

1. **Dilexi virum qui . . . requirebat. Dilexi virum qui solveretur . . . Dilexi ergo . . . Dilexi et praesumo.** Anaphora in four clauses, in the first pair of which there is a repetition of three words.

2. **qui me in supremis . . . requirebat:** For the same thought in Ambrose, cf. De Ob. Val. 80, *Tu* (Gratian) *in tuis extremis me appellabas.* Valentinian also was anxiously waiting for Ambrose to administer to him the sacrament of Baptism. Probably, too, he hoped that the Bishop's presence would be his shield against his enemies. As Ambrose says: *Tu per me putabas eripi te periculis.* Cf. De Ob. Val. 80.

3. **in supremis suis.** "Time when," expressed by the ablative with the preposition *in* is late Latin. Cf. 22, note 3.

4. **de statu Ecclesiarum:** Theodosius was untiring in his efforts to cement a closer union between the Latin and Greek churches.

5. **Dilexi ergo, fateor, et ideo . . . dolui:** juxtaposition of two clauses for emphasis.

6. **dolorem . . . dolui:** paragmenon, the repetition of a word in the form of a derivative.

7. **prolixiore:** p. c. when used in reference to speech. For the same use in Amb., cf. Ep. 49, 1, *prolixiorem . . . sermonem.* Here used as a weak comparative.

8. **prolixiore . . . prosecutione . . . putavi:** alliteration. Prosecutione is p. c.

9. **solandum:** Solari is a poetical word occasionally found in prose.

10. **praesumo de Domino:** Cf. 25, note 1, for *praesumere,* meaning to trust.

11. **vocem orationis meae:** a Biblical expression. Cf. Ps. 114, 1, etc.

SECTION 36.

1. **Ps. 114, 3.**

2. **multorum pericula . . . remedia paucorum:** chiasmus and antithesis.

3. **In omnibus . . . periclitatur, in omnibus . . . angitur:** anaphora with homoioteleuton.

4. **sacerdos:** as the equivalent for *episcopus* is found among early eccl. writers. Ambrose ordinarily used the word to mean "bishop" as here. Jerome is the earliest writer to use it for bishop and priest, and Augustine so applies it. Cf. Watson 259.

5. **quod alii patiuntur, ipse sustinat:** This thought seems reminiscent of Cor. 2, 11, 29. *Quis infirmatur et ego non infirmor.*

6. **iterum liberatur, cum . . . tenentur, periculis liberantur:** metaphor with homoioteleuton.

7. **eum in filiis repraesentes:** metaphor.

8. **custodiens parvulos:** Cf. Ps. 114, 6.

9. **Salvos facito:** Cf. Ps. 16, 7, *salvos facis.*

10. **Da requiem:** Compare with the liturgical prayer for the dead: *Requiem aeternam dona ei Domine.*

11. **ubi mortem aculeum . . . ubi cognoscat:** metaphor and anaphora.

12. **mortis aculeum:** For the same expression in Ambrose, cf. Ep. 4, 5, *ut aculeum mortis hebetaret;* Ep. 46, 4, *ut nostrae obtunderet mortis aculeum.*

13. **culpae:** in eccl. writers is an equivalent of *crimen.* In the present instance it seems to be used as *peccati.* Cf. De Bono Mortis 1, 4, 15, *inveniemus mortem finem esse peccati.*

14. **Quod enim mortuus est peccato mortuus est:** Here Ambrose gives a peculiar turn to the Biblical quotation, to bring it into harmony with the preceding thought. Cf. Rom. 6, 10, *Quod enim mortuus est peccato, mortuus est semel.* This is a frequent quotation in Ambrose's works, sometimes literal, but often para-

phrased. Cf. In Ps. 118, 18, 47, *Ideoque mortuus est et quod gravius est morte peccati;* Ep. 37, 43, *Si mortuum fuerit corpus nostrum peccato.*

15. **resurget autem, ut perfectior renovato munere vita reparetur:** For a similar thought, cf. De Ex. Frat. 70, *quoniam in melius ipsa natura reparatur, fletus omnes casus mortis abstergat.*

16. **reparetur:** not frequent until post. Aug. prose.

Section 37.

1. **ad regionem vivorum:** Cf. Ps. 114, 9, *in regione vivorum.*

2. **donec . . . inducam:** For *donec* with the subjunctive, cf. 34, note 13.

3. **inducam in montem:** From Tacitus on the use of *in* as the equivalent of *ad,* as here, is common. This usage though found in class. times was rare.

4. **in montem Domini sanctum:** a common Biblical expression. Cf. Ps. 3, 5; 2, 6, etc.

5. **ubi perennis vita, ubi corruptela nulla; nulla contagio, nulla gemitus, nullus dolor, nullum consortium:** anaphora and homoioteleuton, and anadiplosis. This passage seems formed by a combination of a passage analogous in construction to Ambrose's use of Rom. 8, 35 (cf. 23, note 5) but with *gemitus* and *dolor* taken from Is. 35, 10.

6. **corruptela:** a word common in eccl. Latin, but, except in Cicero, rare in class. speech.

7. **mortale hoc . . . incorruptionem:** Here Ambrose varies the order of words in the quotation. The Itala, Vulgate and Greek read: *Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem, et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem.* Cf. 1 Cor. 15, 53.

8. **centesimus quartus decimus psalmus:** This psalm is chosen because in it the sorrows and weaknesses endured in time, are shown to give place to a secure abiding rest. Ambrose explains the title *alleluia* in his treatise, In Ps. 118, Prolog. 3. *Titulus autem psalmi alleluia est, hoc est laus Dei . . . in quibus est peccatorum remissio.* This same explanation may be applied to Ps. 114 which bears the title *alleluia.*

9. **illic formatus:** For *reformatus* used in the sense of *formatus* as here, cf. De Sp. S. 3, 14, 104, *in illam caelestem gloriam reformamur.* For Augustine's use of *formare* in this sense, cf. Conf. 1, 11, *Noveret eos iam illa mater et terram poteris, unde postea formarer quam ipsam iam effigiam conmittere volebat.*

10. **peccato obnoxius:** For the same expression in Ambrose, cf. De Sp. S. 1, 9, 106, *creatura obnoxia potest esse peccato;* De Fide Res. 2, 125, *Haec peccato obnoxia est, illa praemio reservata.*

11. **Saeculo:** For *saecula* meaning "this world," cf. 30, note 2.

12. **hic vera perfectus est ubi iam culpa cessavit:** For the same expression in Ambrose, cf. De Sacr. 5, 4, 20, *coelum est ibi, ubi cessavit culpa.* Cf. also De Off. 1, 48, 247, *hic infirmitas perfectorum, illic plena perfectio;* ib. 3, 5, 36, *hic in humilitate, ibi in gloria.*

13. **gratia perpetuae quietis affulsit:** For the same expression in Ambrose, cf. Hex. 1, 6, 22, *cum divinae remunerationis gratia affulserit.*

14. **affulsit:** a rare word first found in Horace. Cf. Berlin Thes.

SECTION 38.

1. **remuneratio:** Cf. 32, note 3.

2. **pascha . . . formam celebritatis:** The Sunday after the Jewish Pasch (14 Nisan) was the historical day of the Resurrection, therefore this Sunday became at Rome the Christian feast of Easter. Rome and Alexandria were the first cities to fix the date by the rule which now prevails, viz. the first Sunday after the first full moon following the Spring equinox.

3. **debet esse . . . debet amare:** anaphora.

4. **passioni.** Cf. 21, note 16.

5. **mortem non fugiamus, nullum aestimemus, nihil metuamus:** asyndeton with homoioteleuton.

6. **Cf. 1 John 4, 18:** *perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem.* The Itala reads: *perfecta dilectio.* Ambrose's expression *expellit foras* is near the Greek ἔξω βάλλει.

7. **Grande numeri mysterium . . . fulgeret!:** exclamatio.

8. **fulgeret:** ante cl. and poetic, chiefly, but cf. Cic. Cat. 2, 3, 5, *qui fulgent purpura.*

9. **Ita est Ecclesia . . . sicut luna:** comparison.

10. **pie:** cf. 18, note 2, for change of meaning.

11. **Ps. 88, 38.**

12. **Quisquis bene . . . celebraverit:** Theodosius was zealous in enforcing the proper celebration of Easter. For decrees on this subject, cf. Theod. Code II, 8, 19; II, 8, 20; II, 8, 21. (App. 2).

13. **Quis splendidius . . . removit errores, clausit templa . . . destruxit?:** interrogatio, chiasmus, asyndeton. For the historical reference, cf. 4, note 14.

14. **destruxit:** chiefly poetic but found in Cicero. Cf. Senect. 20, 72.

15. **in hoc:** In conformity with class. usage *in* may indicate the aim of an action, but in late Latin it was extended to new expressions, among them adverbial phrases such as *in tantum, in quantum, in hoc.*

16. **In hoc Josias rex superioribus, antelatus est:** on this subject Ambrose in De Ob. Val. 57, says: *Josias decimo octavo anno regni ita Domini pascha celebravit, ut omnes retro principes devotione superaret . . . rex iustus ante sublatus est.*

Section 39.

1. **Manet ergo in lumine Theodosius:** Cf. 1 John 2, 10, *Qui diliget fratrem suum in lumine manet.*

2. **Manet . . . lumine . . . coetibus gloriatur:** metaphor with chiasmus.

3. **complectitur Gratianum:** For the same idea, that part of the joy of heaven will consist of union with those loved on earth, cf. De Ob. Val. 71. *Hinc adscendenti animae Gratianus frater occurrit et complexus eam dicit etc.*

4. **invenit ultorem:** In the treatise, In Ps. 61, 17, Ambrose treats of Gratian the young Emperor lately sought by all, suddenly betrayed, abandoned, deprived of life, but, he adds: *Vitam illam corporis potestis eripere, meritum non potestis extinguere*

. . . *mortuum resuscitabit, et ulciscetur occisum.* Theodosius became the avenger of his colleague, Gratian, by the defeat of Maximus (388), who first usurped the imperial power in Britain, then by the murder of Gratian made himself master of Gaul and Spain.

5. **pietatis:** for changed meaning cf. 2, note 4.

6. **De quibus benedicitur . . . Dies diei . . . Maximus et Eugenius in inferno . . . nox nocti . . . scientiam:** Ambrose makes frequent use of the Scriptural quotation of this passage explaining its meaning in his exposition of Ps. 118, 7, 33, where he says: *nox nocti indicat scientiam. . . . Nox est omnibus quibus non est perfecta securitas. . . . Dies est quibus adest Christus: nox est quibus se denegat.* Again he says, with the same idea in mind: *Dies diei Christianus Christiano: nox, nocti Judaeus, Judaeo.* Cf. Ex. Vir. 1, 1, 8. With slightly altered meaning the expression occurs in Ep. 22, 8, *Dies diei eructat verbum; anima, animae; nox nocti indicat scientiam, caro, carni.* In the present treatise these same distinctions hold. Gratian and Theodosius enjoy the light of Christ, Maximus and Eugene are in darkness, *in inferno.* Both usurpers though nominally Christians, seem to have gone far, in their concessions to paganism, but Ambrose in the present instance mentions unjust war as the cause of their ruin. Elsewhere, however, in describing the war of Eugene against Theodosius, he speaks of "the unbeliever's sacrilegious threats against the Church of God." Cf. In Ps. 36, 25.

7. **Ps. 18, 3.**

8. **Ps. 36, 35, 36.**

9. **elevatum super cedros:** For a similar exposition, cf. In Ps. 36, 80, where Ambrose says in reference to the Jews: *Est et alius impius qui videtur exaltatus et elevatus super cedros Libani; et si transeas, non erit, nec locum eius invenies.*

10. **Transivit pius . . . ad lumen aeternum:** i. e. Theodosius.

11. **pius:** For eccl. meaning cf. 18, note 2.

12. **de caligine saeculari ad lumen aeternum:** metaphor, with antithesis. Cf. Cic. Tusc. 1, 30, *laetus ex his tenebris in lucem illam.*

13. **et non erat impius:** i. e. Maximus and Eugene had ceased

to be. For the same thought, cf. In Ps. 36, 82. *Iustorum reliquiae virtutes sunt: impiorum reliquiae, improbitas atque perfidiae peccatum. Ea delebuntur ut non sint.* Ambrose makes a distinction between *impius* and *peccator,* applying the former term to one who does not believe in Christ, the latter to one who believes but who has sinned grievously. Of the unbeliever he says: *non resurgunt impii in iudicio. . . . Non possunt ad eius* (Christi) *pertinere beneficium, quem cognoscere refutarunt.* Cf. In Ps. 118, 5, 44.

Section 40.

1. **regnare . . . in regno:** metaphor and paragmenon.

2. **considerat templum eius:** For the same expression, cf. Ep. 29, 5, *videam delectiones Domini et considerem templum eius.* Cf. Ps. 26, 4. Here the Vulgate reads: *videam voluptatem Domini et visitem templum eius,* the Itala: *protegi templum sanctum eius.* The Greek, which is nearest Ambrose's expression, reads: ἐπισκέπτεσθαι τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ.

3. **quando recipit . . . quando ei sua . . . quando patrem . . . quando Constantino:** anaphora.

4. **filium Gratianum:** Gregory of Nyssa in the funeral oration for the Empress Flaccilla says, that there were three children, two of whom, the sons (Arcadius and Honorius), she had left to the father as supports to his throne, one, the daughter, she had claimed for her share. Cf. Opp. 31, Or. in fun. Flacc. This daughter Pulcheria died in infancy previous to the death of her mother. There is no record of a son Gratian by the Emperor's marriage to Galla, sister of Valentinian, but of a daughter Galla Placidia. From this statement, however, it seems that Theodosius must have had a child named Gratian, who died before the year 395.

5. pignora: was made concrete by the poets.

6. **ei adhaeret . . . Constantino adhaeret:** For *adhaerere* with the dative, cf. 7, note 9.

7. **quod primus . . . credidit . . . dereliquit . . . reperit;** homoioteleuton.

8. **haereditatem fidei:** metaphor.

9. **propheticum:** ecclesiastical.

10. **Cf. Zach. 14, 20:** Where Ambrose has *illo die,* the Itala and Vulgate have *die illa.* Amb. and the Itala have *omnipotenti,* which the Vulgate omits.

11. **quod super frenum equi, sanctum Domino omnipotenti:** the Vulgate explains this passage as meaning that the golden ornaments of the bridles shall be turned into offerings in the house of God. For Ambrose's explanation cf. 47.

12. **revelavit:** in the sense of "uncover" not a. Aug.

Section 41.

1. **Beatus Constantinus . . . non timeret!:** exclamatio.

2. **Magna femina . . . imperatori conferret . . . ab imperatore acciperet!:** exclamatio, antithesis, homoioteleuton.

3. **Dominicae passionis:** note the genitive of the adjective used instead of the noun. *Dominicus* in eccl. Latin is used for the Lord's Day. Here it means "the Lord."

Section 42.

1. **stabulariam:** an adjective used substantively. As a substantive in the feminine, as here, cited for Ambrose only. For the feminine adjective, cf. Aug. Civ. Dei, 18, 18, *stabularia mulier.*

2. **Bona stabularia quae . . . requisivit. Bona stabularia . . . quae non ignoravit. Bona stabularia quae . . . lucrifaceret:** metaphor with a three-fold anaphora consisting of three words in each series.

3. **Bona stabularia, quae tam diligenter praesepe Domini requisivit:** Ambrose in Exp. in Luc. 7, 81, 82, says of St. Paul whom he calls *bonus stabularius: Quis? Ille forsitan qui ait: Aestimo ut stercora ut Christum lucrifaciam; quo curam haberet hominis vulnerati. . . . Bonus ergo stabularius stabuli eius in quo agnovit asina praesepe Domini sui.* The similarity between these passages and the section at hand suggests that Ambrose used the former work in his preparation of the present oration.

4. **vulnera . . . vulnerati:** paragmenon. For the reference to the Good Samaritan, cf. Luc. 10, 35.

5. **vulnerati:** a participle used substantively.

6. **de stercore . . . ad regnum:** metaphor and antithesis.

7. **secundum:** for p. c. use, cf. 28, note 8.

8. **Cf. Ps. 112, 7:** Ambrose differs from the Itala and Vulgate only in substituting *a* for *de*.

Section 43.

1. **Ecce locus pugnae . . . non cernitur?:** metaphor and prosopopoeia throughout the paragraph which includes four examples of interrogatio.

2. **locus pugnae:** genitive of quality. Cf. 13, note 2.

3. **vexillum salutis:** genitive of quality.

4. **Ego in regnis et crux Domini in pulvere? Ego in aureis et in ruinis Christi triumphus?:** anaphora, antithesis, and isocolon.

5. **ille adhuc latet et latet palma:** chiasmus with imperfect anadiplosis.

6. **me redemptam . . . redemptio:** paragmenon.

Section 44.

1. **Video quid egeris Diabole . . . gladius . . . obstrueretur:** metaphor with prosopopoeia throughout the section. *Diabole* is a word taken from Greek by eccl. writers. *Peremtus* in the sense of "annihilate" as here, is class.; in the sense "to kill" is poetic, and p. Aug.

2. **eruderavit:** rare in the meaning "clear away," is here. For examples in Ambrose, cf. Ep. 22, 2; De Nab. 1, 2. For the Scriptural reference to Isaac, cf. Gen. 26, 18, *rursum fodit alios puteos.*

3. **tollatur ruina, ut vita appareat; promatur gladius . . . aperiatur humus:** metaphor, chiasmus, parison, homoioptoton.

4. **veri Goliae:** i. e. Satan, metaphor, antonomasia.

5. **lignum:** in class. language, "wood"; in eccl. "the Cross of Christ."

6. **quae genuit triumphatorem, quae sine:** anaphora.

7. **triumphatorem:** p. c.

8. **mortuus subiugaret:** metaphor.

9. **ut mulier deprehendat:** For *ut* with the subjunctive instead of *cum* temporal, cf. 8, note 4.

10. **Illa . . . gestavit, ego . . . investigabo; illa generatum . . . ego resuscitatum; illa . . . videretur, ego . . . elevabo:** asyndeton, zeugma, with a two-fold anaphora carried through three clauses.

11. **ad remedium:** for *ad* with the accusative of a noun to express purpose cf. 9, note 3.

12. **divinum . . . vexillum:** hyperbaton and metaphor.

Section 45.

1. **Aperit humum, decutit pulverem:** asyndeton, homoioptoton, homoioteleuton and parison. *Decutit* is not frequent until the p. Aug. age.

2. **quae ruina contexerat, inimicus absconderat:** isocolon, homoioptoton, homoioteleuton, and asyndeton.

3. **non potuit obliterari Christi triumphus:** metaphor.

4. **Incerto haeret; haeret ut mulier:** anadiplosis.

5. **indaginem:** in the transferred sense of "investigation" chiefly p. Aug.

6. **crucifixi fuerint:** for *fuerint* used instead of *sint* in a compound tense, cf. 27, note 7.

7. **ruina confunderet, casus inverteret:** asyndeton, parison and homoioteleuton.

8. **Evangelii:** eccl.

9. **lectio:** p. c.

10. **invenit quia in medio . . . erat:** for *quia* with the indicative after a verb of knowing, cf. 1, note 2.

11. **John 19, 19.**

12. **Hinc collecta est series veritatis, titulo crux patuit salutaris:** isocolon, homoioteleuton, asyndeton.

13. **series veritatis:** genitive of quality.

14. **crux salutaris:** genitive of quality.

15. **Cf. John 19, 22:** *Quod scripsi, scripsi.*

16. **non ea scripsi, quae vobis placerent, sed qua aetas futura cognosceret:** isocolon and homoioteleuton.

17. **non vobis scripsi sed posteritati:** antithesis.

18. **Helena . . . legat, unde . . . recognoscat:** homoioteleuton.

Section 46.

1. **regem adoravit, non lignum:** arsis and thesis. Cf. 30, note 18.

2. **gentilis error:** an adjective agreeing with *error* and used instead of *gentilium,* the subjective genitive of the noun. The subjective genitive is rarely replaced by an adjective as here. Cf. Gabarrou, 154. Ambrose points out the gentiles' error in Ps. 118, 10, 25, saying: *Gentilis lignum adorant, quia dei imaginem putant.* For Tertullian's denial that Christians worship the Cross, cf. Apol. 16, *et qui crucis nos religiosos putat.*

3. **gentilis error, et vanitas impiorum:** chiasmus. *Gentilis* in eccl. Latin, as here, signifies a "heathen" or "pagan." *Vanitas impiorum* is a genitive of quality.

4. **adoravit illum . . . illum, inquam, qui sicut scarabaeus clamavit:** geminatio and comparison.

5. **qui pependit in ligno, scriptus in titulo:** parison and homoioteleuton. For the same expression in Ambrose, cf. Exp. in Luc. 5, 81. *Qui sicut uva pependit in ligno.* Cf. also Act. 5, 30, *suspendentes in ligno* and Gal. 3, 13, *qui pendet in ligno.*

6. **ligno:** for the changed meaning, cf. 44, note 5.

7. **scarabaeus clamavit, ut persecutoribus suis Pater peccata donaret:** Ambrose seems to have used the *scarab* as a symbol for Christ more often than any other ecclesiastical writer. His greatest development of the symbol is the following used in speaking of the title placed on the Cross: *Vermis in cruce, scarabaeus in*

cruce, et bonus vermis qui haesit in ligno, bonus scarabaeus qui clamavit e ligno. Quid clamavit? Domine ne statuas illis hoc peccatum. Clamavit latroni: Hodie mecum eris in paradiso. Clamavit quasi scarabaeus: Deus, Deus meus, quare me dereliquisti. Then making a parallel to the habit of the scarabaeus which rolls a pellet of manure and deposits therein its eggs he continues, speaking of God the Creator, *Et bonus scarabaeus qui lutum corporis nostri ante informe ac pigrum virtutum versabat vestigiis, bonus scarabaeus qui de stercore erigit pauperum.* Cf. Exp. in Luc. 10, 113. Cf. also Ep. 32, 6. *Clamavit etiam in corpore suo, sicut scarabaeus in ligno;* In Ps. 118, 3, 8 *et crucifixus erat . . . scarabaeus audiebatur et Deus agnoscebatur.* In the foregoing examples the idea of the scarab's *crying out* and *being heard* seems to be emphasized. I have been unable to connect this thought with the characteristics of the insect. The scarab as a symbol for Christ, however, seems to have passed over into Christianity because of its significance. Among the Egyptians it was honored at a period so remote that its date is not known. It symbolized the resurrection of the soul, and was the highest Egyptian god to be given a conceived form. Its hieroglyph, the scarab, symbolized *being, the only begotten, the father,* and *the universe.* Cf. Myers, 11 ff., 111 ff.

8. **persecutoribus:** in the sense of "pursuer" is p. c.; in the sense of a " persecutor of martyrs," as here, is eccl.

9. **donaret:** for the late meaning forgive, cf. 26, note 5.

10. **avida mulier . . . remedium immortalitatis . . . sacramentum salutis:** homoioptoton and homoioteleuton.

11. **festinabat tangere:** For the extended use of the complementary infinitive, cf. 13, note 2.

12. **remedium immortalitatis . . . sacramentum salutis:** genitives of quality.

13. **metuebat calcare:** *metuere* with an infinitive is found in classical prose but nowhere in Cicero or Caesar. Cf. Krebs-Schmalz 80. *Calcare* is chiefly found in poetry and p. Aug. prose. From its meaning " to trample under foot," it acquired a figurative sense " to insult " or " desecrate."

14. **sacramentum salutis:** genitive of quality. *Sacramentum*

here is used for a sacred sign, that is, "the cross" which was the instrument of salvation. Cf. 34, note 12.

15. **pertendit:** in the sense "to proceed" as here, is not found in Cicero or Caesar.

16. **ad cubile veritatis, lignum refulsit, gratia micuit:** metaphor and homoioteleuton.

17. **feminam visitaverat Christus in Maria, Spiritus in Helena visitavit:** chiasmus and homoioptoton.

18. **mortalis:** as a substantive in the plural is common in class. Latin; as a substantive in both singular and plural it is found only in late Latin. Cf. Krebs-Schmalz 104.

Section 47.

1. **de uno clavo . . . fieri:** Ambrose says that *ex illo* designates material. Cf. De Sp. S. 2, 9, 85. Here as frequently he violates this practice. The preposition *de* with the material from which a thing is made is used with reserve among classical authors. Cicero always uses *ex* before the name of a material. Virgil never employs *facere* with *de*. Cato, Varro, Petronius, Martial and later authors present these uses frequently but Ovid is the only one to use *facere* with *de* before material. *Facere ex* appears to have been considered more literary and was retained in prose. Cf. Guillemin 56. Augustine says in this connection: *Quod enim de ipso est, potest dici ex ipso: non autem omne quod ex ipso est recte dicitur de ipso. Ex ipso enim caelum et terra, quia ipse fecit ea: non autem de ipso; quia non de substantia eius.*

2. **fraenos:** is rare in the singular. The plural is found in two forms masculine and neuter. *Fraena* seems to be the form used by the poets. In the present treatise Ambrose uses the masc. plu. acc. *fraenos* once, the neuter plu. nom. *fraena* twice (cf. 51) the neuter sing. nom. *fraenum,* three times (cf. 47, 50) and the neuter abl. sing. *fraeno* once (cf. 51). The singular occurs in Ambrose's Biblical references, or exact quotations.

3. **fieri praecepit:** among late writers *praecipere* adopted the construction and meaning of *iubere* as here. Hence the infinitive.

4. **Unum ad decorem, alterum ad devotionem:** parison with

homoioptoton. *Unus* used instead of *alter* in speaking of two things is late Latin. Cf. Krebs-Schmalz, 695.

5. **decorem:** is poetic, probably not a. Aug. in prose.

6. **devotionem:** as an equivalent of *fides* or *pietas* is late Latin.

7. **Visitata est Maria ut . . . visitata est Helena ut:** anaphora and homoioptoton.

8. **Misit itaque filio . . . Misit et fraenum:** anaphora.

9. **insignitum:** chiefly p. Aug.

10. **redemtionis divinae gemma:** metaphor.

11. **Principium credentium . . . sanctum est:** metaphor.

12. **persecutio cessaret, devotio succederet:** isocolon, homoioptoton, homoioteleuton.

Section 48.

1. **crucem in capite regum:** synecdoche in which the whole (*crucem*) is used for one of its parts (*clavus*).

2. **crux . . . adoretur:** For Ambrose's explanation of veneration of the Cross, cf. 46.

3. **non insolentia, sed pietas:** arsis and thesis. Cf. 30, note 18.

4. **cum defertur:** *cum* causal in a. class. and p. class. times is found sometimes with the indicative as here, sometimes with the subjunctive as in class. Latin. Cf. Goelzer (2) 344.

5. **clavus Romani imperii . . . regit orbem ac vestit . . . . frontem:** metaphor, homoioptoton and homoioteleuton.

6. **Orbem:** used without *terrarum* is chiefly poetic.

7. **ut sint praedicatores, qui persecutores:** reminiscent of St. Paul, and aptly applied to the Christian Emperors in contrast to the pagan. Cf. 1 Tim. 1, 13, *qui . . . persecutor;* ib. 2, 7, *ego praedicator et apostolus.* For the same expression in Jerome, cf. Ep. 16, 1, *Paulus ex persecutore fit praedicator.* Cf. also Hilary, In Ps. 138, 27, *dum persecutores fiunt praedicatores.*

8. **praedicator:** in class. speech, "a eulogist"; in eccl. "a preacher of the Gospel."

9. **Recte in capite clavus, ubi sensus est, ibi sit praesidium:**

chiasmus and isocolon. For the Biblical reference, cf. Eccl. 2, 14, *sapientis oculi in capite eius.* Ambrose quotes this literally in Ps. 35, 26, and also in Ps. 43, 61, but for a slight inversion. For a similar thought, cf. Exp. in Luc. 7, 86, *Sapientia in capite, actus in manibus.* For *sensus* as here, cf. In Ps. 118, 16, 24, *quoniam sensus sapientis in capite eius.* Cf. also De Sac. 3, 1, 1, *Quare supra caput? Quia sensus sapientis in capite eius. Salomon ait.*

10. **in vertice corona, in manibus habena:** anaphora, asyndeton, isocolon, homoioptoton, homoioteleuton.

11. **corona de cruce ut fides luceat: habena quoque de cruce ut potestas regat:** isocolon, homoioptoton, homoioteleuton. For *de* with the ablative of material, cf. 47, note 1.

12. **iusta moderatio non iniusta praeceptio:** arsis and thesis, asyndeton, antithesis, homoioteleuton.

13. **Christi sibi liberalitate:** hyperbaton.

14. **ad imitationem:** For *ad* with the accusative of a substantive to express purpose, cf. 9, note 3.

15. **Ps. 20, 4.**

Section 49.

1. **gratulatur Ecclesia, erubescit Iudaeus:** antithesis and asyndeton.

2. **nec solum erubescit, sed etiam torquetur:** isocolon.

3. **Dum insultat Christo confessus est eum regem, dum regem . . . confitetur:** anaphora, metaphor, antithesis, paradox.

4. **sacrilegium:** A word taken by the Christians from the religious terms of paganism, and used with an altered concept.

5. **Ecce, inquiunt, crucifiximus Jesus!:** exclamatio. This sentence begins a prosopopoeia which continues until the close of the section.

6. **Christiani:** a proper name derived from *Christus* and first applied to the disciples of Christ at Antioch. Strictly speaking the word should be *Christani* but its form results from analogy with proper names whose stem includes *i.* Cf. *Arriani* from *Arrius.*

7. **mortem resurgant et mortui regnent:** paragmenon.

8. **nos crucifiximus . . . reges adorant: quem non adoramus ipsi adorant:** isocolon, conversio, homoioteleuton, antithesis, arsis and thesis.

9. **Ecce . . . torquet!:** exclamatio.

10. **remedium salutis:** genitive of quality.

11. **nos vicisse, sed victos fatemur:** antithesis and paragmenon.

12. **Iterum Christus resurrexit, et resurrexisse cum . . . Iterum vivit:** chiasmus and anaphora.

13. **vivit qui non videtur:** perhaps reminiscent of Peter 1, 8, *quem cum non videritis diligitis.* Ambrose to counteract pagan tenets frequently emphasizes the idea of a God who is not seen. Cf. Ep. 4, 5, *Hic autem quasi Verbum semper stat in singulis, quem nos non videmus.* Cf. also, Ep. 43, 14 *sicut nos Deum quem non videmus, timemus.*

14. **Nunc maior nobis contentio, nunc pugna vehementior:** chiasmus and anaphora.

15. **cui regna famulantur, cui servit potestas:** anaphora, isocolon, chiasmus.

16. **quomodo resistemus?:** interrogatio.

17. **Ferro pedum:** metaphor.

18. **reges adorant . . . photiniani . . . negant!:** exclamatio, antithesis, homoioteleuton. For the form *photiniani,* cf. 49, note 6.

19. **Clavum . . . praeferunt imperatores, arriani potestatem imminuunt!:** exclamatio, antithesis, chiasmus.

20. **erubescit Iudaeus . . . photiniani negant . . . arriani imminuunt:** In this section Ambrose dwells upon three enemies of Christianity whose heresies he combatted throughout his episcopal life. Photinianus among late writers was the name given to anyone who held that Christ was a mere man. Photinus a heresiarch of the fourth century taught that the Father and the Word were one person. His teaching was condemned at Milan 345. Cf. Hefele, cons. II. The Arians, followers of Arius, also a fourth century heresiarch, denied that the Son is of one essence, nature and substance with God the Father, hence not equal in dignity nor coeternal.

Section 50.

1. **Quare sanctum super fraenum?:** interrogatio. Cf. Zach. 14, 20.

2. **sanctum:** an adjective used substantively.

3. **imperatorum insolentiam refraenaret, comprimeret licentiam tyrannorum:** metaphor and chiasmus.

4. **quasi equi:** comparison.

5. **quod liceret illis . . . committere:** The conjunctive particle *quod,* "that" or "the fact that," is often used, as here, in subordinate sentences which serve to complete the sense of the main clause. This is common also in class. Latin.

6. **illis:** for *iis,* cf. 1, note 9.

7. **Quae Neronum, quae Caligularum . . . super fraenum?:** metaphor and interrogatio.

8. **Neronum—Caligularum:** The influence of the poets who used the singular and plural frequently with the same meaning caused certain peculiarities of number found in early Christian writers. Thus the plural of proper names occurs where one person is signified.

9. **quibus non fuit sanctum:** i. e. none of the principles of Christianity to direct their passions into proper channels.

Section 51.

1. **operatio:** in eccl. Latin "beneficence" or "charity" as here.

2. **ut fraena dirigeret:** For *ut* temporal, cf. 8, note 4. Ambrose as other eccl. writers is fond of the Scriptural metaphor of the reins or check for the passions. Cf. De Off. 1, 47, 238, *tamquam efferato impetu fraenos rationis non suscipit nec ulla sentit aurigae moderamini, quibus possit reflecti;* cf. also De Nab. 15, 64, *agitator vigor mentis . . . velut quosdam equos prudentiae habenis coercet.*

3. **Ps. 31, 9.**

4. **sed . . . constringeret:** From Livy on writers seemed

gradually to lose the exact notion of those distinctions between conjunctions, which classical usage had established. Thus *sed* is sometimes found, as here, without the character of strong opposition, which belonged to it in class. prose, and is used as *et*. Cf. Gabarrou 168.

5. **In fraeno et chamo maxillas eorum constringeret:** Cf. Ps. 31, 9. Here Ambrose follows the Itala except for the form of the verb, changing *constringe* to *constringeret*. The Vulgate says: *camo et freno*.

6. **Prona potestas in vitium:** metaphor.

7. **more pecudum:** comparison.

8. **restrinxit eos crux Domini et revocavit:** metaphor.

9. **lapsu impietatis:** genitive of quality.

10. **Levavit oculos ut Christum in coelum quaererent:** metaphor. For a similar passage, cf. *Hex.* 2, 4, 16, *Nemo ad coelum oculos erigebat, nemo eius auctorem venerabatur.* Cf. also In Ps. 45, 18, *quia oculos mentium ad sublime gratiae coelestis elevare atque adtollere nesciebant.* Here we have the same idea of the eyes of faith and also, in *adtollere nesciebant,* the thought of *ignorabant Deum* as in the present section.

11. **Exuerunt se chamo perfidiae, susceperunt fraena devotionis:** metaphor, antithesis, homoioptoton.

12. **chamo perfidiae . . . fraena devotionis:** appositional genitives.

13. **sequuti dicentem:** used here in an active sense. *Dicentem:* a participle used substantively, as in Greek τὸν λέγοντα.

14. **Matt. 11, 29, 30.**

15. **praeter unum Julianum:** At the time that Julian became emperor he was nominally a Christian, although initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. Upon the death of Constantius (361), Julian openly put himself under the protection of Zeus, reopened pagan temples, restored sacrifices and assumed the duties of a Pontifex Maximus.

16. **dum . . . dedit:** In the later period *dum* often replaced *cum* and took a similar sense. This assimilation is seen in phrases

where *dum* is construed with the imperfect subjunctive, and it so influenced the construction of *dum* that it came to be followed even by the pluperfect subjunctive. Cf. Goelzer (2), 340; Bonnet, 686.

17. **philosophiae . . . errori:** genitive of quality.

Section 52.

1. **prophetia:** eccl.

2. **Ambulabunt reges in lumine tuo:** Here Ambrose transposes *reges* and *gentes,* or follows the Greek version. Cf. Is. 60, 3, καὶ πορεύονται βασιλεῖς τῷ φωτὶσου καὶ ἔθνη τῇ λαμπρότη τίσου. The Vulgate and Itala read: *Et ambulant gentes in lumine tuo, et reges in splendore ortus tui.*

3. **non iam armis militum, sed meritis tecti; non purpureum habitum, sed amictum induti gloriae:** metaphor, zeugma, antithesis, parison and homoioptoton.

4. **habitum:** became common in the p. Aug. age, especially in Suetonius.

5. **amictum induti:** This verb is found with the accusative in Sallust, Livy, Tacitus and later writers. Cf. also Eccli. 6, 32, *stolam gloriae indues eam.*

6. **quanto magis . . . mulcentur?:** interrogatio.

7. **Qui nunc luce fruuntur candida:** metaphor and hyperbaton.

8. **habitacula:** a post classical word formed from a frequentative verb *habito.* The ending is diminutive. Cf. Cooper, 89. For Ambrose's use of it, cf. Exp. in Luc. 2, 46, *aeternum habitaculum;* In Ps. 47, 23 *digna . . . habitacula consequatur.*

9. **dicentes; O Israel:** prosopopoeia.

10. **Cf. Baruch III, 24, 25.** Where Ambrose reads: *Domini,* the Itala and Vulgate have *Dei,* Ambrose inserts *quam* with *ingens,* and uses *magnum* where the other versions read: *magnus.* The Itala reads: *non habet consummationem,* the Vulgate: *non habet finem,* Ambrose: *non habens finem.*

11. **Cf. Lam. 3, 27, 28.** Ambrose follows the Itala which reads: *Bonum est viro cum portaverit iugum grave a iuventute sua.*

Sedebit singulariter et silebit quia tulit iugum grave. Ambrose omits *sua* and uses *portavit* instead of *tulit.* The Vulgate differs notably: *Bonum est viro cum portaverit iugum ab adolescentia sua, sedebit solitarius, et tacebit quia levavit super se.*

12. **singulariter:** In Ps. 118, 4, presents the following explanation of the word *singulariter: Denique sedebit ille singulariter quasi is, qui facile non inveniat aequalem, singularibus donatus praemiis et silebit quietus et feriatus ab omni interpellatione.* Here we note the same use of *singulariter* in two different connotations as occurs in the present section, viz., to mean "apart" the a. and p. c. meaning, *sidebit singulariter,* and "singularly" or "remarkably" the class. meaning *singulariter in spe.* For the first meaning, again cf. In Ps. 118, 19, 19, *sedebit singulariter, remotus a strepitu.* Cf. also 53, note 1.

13. **remotus a turba . . . quietus:** antithesis.

14. **Ps. 4, 10.**

15. **tu Domine singulariter in spe constituisti me:** Ambrose uses this same assurance of salvation for the young Valentinian (cf. De Ob. Val. 10) whose earnest desire for baptism, is said by Ambrose to have taken the place of the actual sacrament. He does not mention Valentinian nor his sister Galla, wife of Theodosius, however, among the heavenly throng gathered to welcome the triumphant soul. Cf. 39 and 40.

Section 53.

1. **Portavit iugum grave . . . Lazarus:** For the Scriptural passage cf. Luc. 16, 20: For Ambrose's exposition of it, cf. Exp. in Luc. 8, 13, *Lazarum vero in Abrahae gremio quasi in quodam sinu quietis, et sanctitatis recessu locavit.* Cf. also, In Ps. 118, 15, 26, *Sed qui in sinu Abrahae sedet susceptus a Christo est.* For *singulariter* in this treatise cf. 52, note 12.

2. **divinae lectionis:** For scriptural epithets, cf. 14, note 3.

3. **Portavit iugum grave. . . . Portavit iugum grave. . . . Portavit iugum grave. Portavit iugum grave:** metaphor and anaphora with the repetition of three words through a series of four clauses.

4. **patrem eius triumphatorem occiderant:** The father of Theodosius was executed at Carthage in 376, shortly after an illustrious victory over Firmus, King of the Moors. For a discussion of the cause of his death, cf. Tillemont, Emp. V, 109, 142, 170.

5. **pietatis exsilium:** For *pietas* in its classical sense as here, cf. 3, note 12. According to Tillemont, Emp. V, 191, the sense is "piety," the p. c. use. He says: "His piety was the cause of his exile, as Ambrose states." If that exile, that is his residence on his paternal lands in Spain, was a result of the plots against him, made by those who had killed his father, the sense of *pietas* here, seems to be filial devotion rather than piety.

6. **pietatis exsilium:** genitive of quality.

7. **quando . . . suscepit** imperium: Pacatus says that when Theodosius was summoned by Gratian to become his associate in the Empire he refused in such a manner as to convince everyone that he shrank from a dignity which seemed to other men a sovereign happiness. Cf. Pac. 11.

8. **infusis Romano imperio barbaris:** Gratian's inability to cope with this condition, led him to chose Theodosius as a colleague. Cf. Tillemont, Emp. V, 193. Cf. also Claudian, 4 Hon. 59-62: "No shadow of Rome's name had survived had not Theodosius prevented universal ruin."

9. **tyrannos Romano dimoveret imperio:** by the defeat of usurpers. Cf. 39, note 4.

10. **quia hic in labore, ibi in requie:** antithesis, isocolon, homoioteleuton. For the same expression in Ambrose, cf. In Ps. 37, 2, *vita haec in labore est, illa in requie.*

11. **hic . . . ibi:** instead of the class. **hic—illic.**

Section 54.

1. **germen:** poetic and p. Aug.

2. **inhonorum:** a rare word. For its use cf. Stat. 3, Theb. 567, *Deripit abiectaque inhonorus fronde sacerdos.*

3. **inhonorum adhuc honore tumuli:** paronomasia.

4. **propter populum liberandum:** *propter* with the gerundive, used for *ad* and the gerundive is late Latin and rare.

5. **nec derogatum . . . sed . . . accessit ad laudem:** antithesis.

6. **debitae domus . . . exsilio:** antithesis.

7. **quodam . . . exsilio:** hyperbaton.

8. **supremi funeris:** a strained use of the genitive of quality.

Section 55.

1. **reverendas:** chiefly p. Aug.

2. **omnes iusto dolore . . . omnes . . . deductores:** anaphora. *Deductor* in the sense of "guide" or "conductor" is late; in the sense of an "attendant on a candidate," it is found in Cicero. Cf. Pet. Con. 9.

3. **hic multa . . . divortia, hic maria:** anaphora and hyperbaton.

4. **transfretanda:** p. Aug. For its use in the Scriptures, cf. Deut. 30, 13, *transfretare mare.*

5. **pater fecit, dominus confirmavit:** asyndeton.

6. **militares patri, sed omnibus imperares:** chiasmus and homoioptoton.

Section 56.

1. **Nec vereare ne inhonorae videantur:** The use of the second person singular of the present subjunctive in prohibitions, is often found in a. c. Latin with a definite subject. Usually the perfect is employed whether the subject be definite or indefinite.

2. **inhonorae:** rare. Cf. 54, note 2.

3. **non hoc sentit Italia . . . non hoc Constantinopolis:** anaphora and zeugma.

4. **Expectabat quidem . . . expectabat totius:** anaphora.

5. **totius orbis:** *orbis* used for *mundus* is poetic. Cf. also 48, note 6.

6. **Sed nunc illic . . . potentior, nunc gloriosior redit:** imperfect anaphora, with zeugma and homoioptoton.

7. **quem angelorum caterva ducit, quem sanctorum turba prosequitur:** anaphora, isocolon and homoioptoton.

8. **plane:** as equivalent to *certe* is late Latin.

9. **paradisi:** a term taken from Greek by eccl. writers to designate "Heaven."

10. **incolam . . . habitatorem supernae illius civitatis:** metaphor. For the same thought, cf. Ap. Proph. Dav. 17, 83, *fit supernae illius civis et incola civitatis quae descendit de coelo.* For note on the heavenly Jerusalem, in this treatise cf. 2, note 1.

11. **habitatorem:** the only substantive in *-tor* in this treatise which was used by class. authors. Cf. Cic. N. D. 2, 56, 140.

12. **illius civitatis:** the use of the pronoun here seems to approach that of the definite article. Cf. 1, note 9.

13. **augusto . . . hospitio:** hyperbaton.

APPENDIX I.

Epistola LI.

Augustissimo imperatori Theodosio Ambrosius episcopus.

1. Et veteris amicitiae dulcis mihi recordatio est, et beneficiorum, quae crebris meis intercessionibus summa gratia in alios contulisti, gratiae memini. Unde colligi potest quod non ingrato aliquo affectu adventum tuum semper mihi antehac exoptatissimum declinare potuerim. Sed qua causa hoc fecerim, breviter expediam.

2. Soli mihi in tuo comitatu jus naturae ereptum videbam audiendi, ut et loquendi privarer munere; motus enim frequenter es quod ad me pervenissent aliqua, quae in consistorio tuo statuta forent. Ego ergo expers communis usus sum, cum dicat Dominus Jesus *nihil esse occultum, quod non manifestetur.* Verecundia igitur, qua potui, satisfeci imperiali arbitrio; et prospexi ne aut ipse causam commotionis habeas, cum id egerim, ne quid ad me de imperialibus deferatur statutis: aut ego cum fuero praesens, aut non audiam per metum omnium, et quasi conniventis famam subibo: aut ita audiam, ut mihi aures pateant, vox intercludatur; ut audita non possim eloqui, ne eos qui in suspicionem proditionis venerint, laedam in periculo.

3. Quid igitur facerem? Non audirem? Sed aures non possem cera veterum fabularum claudere. Proderem? Sed quod in tuis jussis timerem, in meis verbis deberem cavere; ne quid cruentum committeretur. Tacerem? Sed quod miserrimum foret omnium, alligaretur conscientia, vox eriperetur. Et ubi illud? Sed si sacerdos non dixerit erranti, is qui erraverit, in sua culpa morietur, et sacerdos reus erit poenae, quia non admonuit errantem.

4. Accipe illud, imperator auguste. Quod habeas fidei studium, non possum negare; quod Dei timorem, non diffiteor: sed habes naturae impetum, quem si quis lenire velit, cito vertes ad miseri-

APPENDIX I.

Epistola LI.

Ambrose the Bishop to the Most August Emperor Theodosius.

1. The recollection of your old friendship is sweet to me, and I also remember the kind favours which to my oft repeated intercessions, you most graciously have bestowed upon others. Whence it may be concluded that not on account of any ungrateful state of mind could I have shunned your arrival, for which heretofore I always longed. But why I did this I shall briefly explain.

2. I saw that from me alone among your courtiers the natural right of hearing had been taken away, so that I was also deprived of the privilege of speaking; for you were often disturbed because some decisions reached in your cabinet had become known to me. I therefore do not share in the common enjoyment, although the Lord Jesus says: "There is not anything secret that shall not be made manifest." Consequently with what reverence I could, I satisfied your imperial will, and I provided that you yourself should not have cause for uneasiness when I brought it about that nothing concerning the imperial statutes should be reported to me. Either when I shall be present, I shall not hear through fear of all, and through fear of subjecting myself to the charge of conniving, or I shall so hear that my ears will be open, my lips closed; so that I cannot relate what I have heard, for fear lest I should betray into danger those who have come under suspicion of treason.

3. What then should I have done? Should I not have heard? But I could not have sealed my ears with the wax of the old tales. Should I have spoken? But what I feared in your orders, I had to guard against in my words lest some deed of bloodshed would be committed. Should I have kept silence? But most wretched of all my conscience would have been bound, my voice snatched away. And what about this text: "But if the priest speak not to the erring, he who errs shall die in his sin, and the priest shall be guilty of punishment because he did not admonish the erring."

4. Bear august Emperor the following words. That you have zeal for the faith I cannot deny; that you have fear of God I do not disavow; but you have a natural impetuosity which if anyone

cordiam: si quis stimulet, in maius exsuscitas, ut eum revocare vix possis. Utinam si nemo mitigat, nullus accendat! Libenter eum committo tibi: ipse te revocas, et pietatis studio vincis impetum naturae.

5. Hunc ego impetum malui cogitationibus tuis secreto committere, quam meis factis publice fortassis movere. Itaque malui officio meo aliquid deesse, quam humilitati: et requiri in me ab aliis sacerdotis auctoritatem, quam a te desiderari in me amantissimo honorificentiam; ut represso impetu, integra esset consilii eligendi facultas. Praetendi aegritudinem corporis re vera gravem, et nisi a viris mitioribus vix levandam: vel emori tamen maluissem, quam adventum tuum biduo, aut triduo non exspectarem. Sed quid facerem, non erat.

6. Factum est in urbe Thessalonicensium quod nulla memoria habet, quod revocare non potui, ne fieret; immo quod ante atrocissimum fore dixi, cum toties rogarem: et quod ipse sero revocando grave factum putasti, hoc factum extenuare non poteram. Quando primum auditum est, propter adventum Gallorum episcoporum Synodus convenerat; nemo non ingemuit, nullus mediocriter accepit: non erat facti tui absolutio in Ambrosii communione. In me etiam amplius commissi exaggeraretur invidia, si nemo diceret Dei nostri reconciliationem fore necessariam.

7. An pudet te, Imperator, hoc facere quod rex propheta, auctor Christi secundum carnem prosapiae, fecit David? Illi dictum est, quia dives qui haberet plurimos greges, unam pauperis ovem propter adventum hospitis eripuit et occidit; et cognito quod in hoc ipse argueretur, quia ipse fecisset, ait: *Peccavi Domino.* Noli ergo impatienter ferre, Imperator, si dicatur tibi: Tu fecisti istud, quod David regi dictum est a propheta. Si enim hoc sedulo audieris, et dixeris: *Peccavi Domino;* si dixeris regale istud propheticum: *Venite adoremus, et procidamus ante eum; et ploremus ante Domi-*

wishes to pacify you will quickly turn to mercy; if anyone excites it, you rouse it so much the more that you can scarcely restrain it. If no one soothes it, may no one inflame it. Gladly I commit it to yourself. You restrain yourself and by the exertions of piety you conquer your impetuous nature.

5. I preferred secretly, to commit this impetuosity to your own reflections, rather than run the risk of rousing you publicly by my deeds and so I preferred to fall short of my duty, than fail in humility; and preferred that others find the authority of a bishop wanting to me, rather than that you find the proper paying of honors lacking in me your dear friend; so that when impetuosity was curbed, the power of making a proper resolution might be unimpaired. I alleged illness of body, in reality this was severe and scarcely to be alleviated except in more quiet surroundings, still I should have preferred to die than not to await your coming two or three days. But what I would have done was not possible.

6. There happened in the city of Thessalonica something unheard of in the memory of man, which I could not prevent being done, nay rather that which I said before would be most cruel, when I petitioned you so often, and what you yourself considered a serious deed when too late you revoked it. When it was first heard of, a synod had convened because of the arrival of the Bishops of Gaul. There was no one who did not mourn, not one received the news with indifference. There was no acquittal for your deed in your communion with Ambrose. Hatred of the act would have been more intensified in me also, if no one had said that reconciliation with our God would be necessary.

7. Are you ashamed Emperor to do that which the prophet-king David did, the author of the race of Christ according to the flesh. To him it was related that a rich man who had many flocks, because of the arrival of a guest, snatched away and killed the one sheep of the poor man; and realizing that he himself was blamed for this, because he had done it, he said: "I have sinned against the Lord." Do not bear it impatiently, O Emperor, if it be said to you: "You have done that which was spoken by the prophet to King David," For if you hear this with solicitude and say: "I have sinned against the Lord"; if you speak the following words of the Royal Prophet: "Come let us adore and fall down before him, and weep before the Lord that made us," it shall be

num nostrum, qui fecit nos; dicetur et tibi: Quoniam poenitet te, dimittit tibi Dominus peccatum tuum, et non morieris.

8. Iterum cum plebem numerari jussisset David, percussus est corde, et dixit ad Dominum: *Peccavi vehementer, quod fecerim hoc verbum, et nunc, Domine, aufer iniquitatem servi tui, quod deliqui vehementer.* Et missus est iterum ad eum Nathan propheta, qui ei trium optionem conditionum offerret, ut quam vellet, eligeret: famem tribus annis in terra, aut tribus mensibus fugere a facie inimicorum suorum, aut triduo mortem in terra. Et respondit David: *Angustiae sunt tria haec vehementer; verumtamen incidam in manu Domini; quoniam multae misericordiae ejus nimis: et in manus hominis non incidam.* Culpa autem erat, quoniam voluit scire numerum totius plebis, quae secum erat: quod scire Deo soli debuit reservare.

9. Et cum, inquit, mors fieret in plebe ipso primo die ad horam prandii cum vidisset David percutientem Angelum in plebem, ait David: *Ego peccavi, et ego pastor malignum feci, et hic grex quid fecit? Fiat manus tua in me, et in domum patris mei.* Itaque poenituit Dominum, et jussit Angelo ut parceret plebi, sacrificium autem offerret David; erant enim tunc sacrificia pro delictis, haec nunc sunt sacrificia poenitentiae. Itaque ea humilitate acceptior Deo factus est: non enim mirandum peccare hominem: sed illud reprehensibile, si non se cognoscat errasse, non humiliet Deo.

10. Job sanctus et ipse potens in saeculo, ait: *Peccatum meum non abscondi, sed coram plebe omni annuntiavi.* Ipsi immani regi Saul dixit Jonathas filius suus: *Noli peccare in servum tuum David;* et: *Ut quid peccas in sanguinem innocentem occidere David sine causa?* Quia etsi rex erat, peccabat tamen, si occideret innocentem. Denique etiam David cum jam regno potiretur, et audisset Abner innocentem occisum a Joab duce militiae suae, ait: *Innocens sum ego et regnum meum amodo et usque in aeternum a sanguine Abner filii Ner;* et ieiunavit in dolore.

said also to you: "Since thou repentest the Lord hath taken away thy sin, and thou shalt not die."

8. Again when David had ordered the people to be numbered, he was stricken at heart and said to the Lord: "I have sinned exceedingly because I gave this command, and now O Lord take away the iniquity of Thy servant, because I have transgressed exceedingly." And the prophet Nathan was sent a second time to him to offer him the choice of three stipulations that he might select which he wished, whether there should be famine for three years in the land, or for three months to flee from the face of his enemies, or for three days, death in the land. And David answered: "These three are a great strait but yet may I fall into the hand of God, since many are his mercies beyond measure; and I shall not fall into the hands of man. But his fault was that he wished to know the number of the entire nation which was with him, and this knowledge he should have reserved for God alone.

9. And it says when death was among the nation, on the very first day at the hour of dining when David had seen the angel striking among the nation he said: "I have sinned, and I the shepherd have acted wickedly, and this flock what has it done? Let Thy hand be against me and against my father's house." And therefore the Lord repented and ordered the angel to spare the people, and David to offer sacrifice; for then there were sacrifices for sins, these now, are the sacrifices of repentance. And so by this humility he was made more acceptable to God. For, that a man sins should not cause surprise, but that which is reprehensible is, if he does not acknowledge that he has erred, and if he does not humiliate himself before God.

10. Even holy Job in his generation said: "I have not hid my sin but before all the people have declared it." To fierce King Saul himself, Jonathan, his son, said: "Sin not against thy servant David" and, "Why dost thou sin against innocent blood to kill David without cause?" For though he was king still he sinned if he slew the innocent. Finally also David, when now he possessed the sovereignity, and had heard that innocent Abner had been killed by Joab leader of his forces, said: "I and my kingdom are innocent henceforth and forever of the blood of Abner the son of Ner," and he fasted in sorrow.

11. Haec ideo scripsi, non ut te confundam, sed ut regum exempla provocent, ut tollas hoc peccatum de regno tuo: tolles autem humiliando Deo animam tuam. Homo es, et tibi venit tentatio, vince eam. Peccatum non tollitur nisi lacrymis et poenitentia. Nec Angelus potest, nec Archangelus; Dominus ipse, qui solus potest dicere: *Ego vobiscum sum;* si peccaverimus, nisi poenitentiam deferentibus non relaxat.

12. Suadeo, rogo, hortor, admoneo; quia dolori est mihi, ut tu qui pietatis inauditae exemplum eras, qui apicem clementiae tenebas, qui singulos nocentes non patiebaris periclitari, tot periisse non doleas innocentes. Etsi in praeliis felicissime egeris, etsi in aliis quoque laudabilis; tamen apex tuorum operum pietas semper fuit. Id tibi invidit diabolus, quod habebas praestantissimum. Vince eum, dum habes adhuc, unde possis vincere. Noli peccato tuo aliud peccatum addere, ut usurpes, quod usurpasse multis officit.

13. Ego certe in omnibus aliis licet debitor pietati tuae, cui ingratus esse non possum, quam pietatem multis imperatoribus praeferebam, uni adaequabam: ego, inquam, causam in te contumaciae nullam habeo, sed habeo timoris: offerre non audeo sacrificium si volueris adsistere. An quod in unius innocentis sanguine non licet, in multorum licet? Non puto.

14. Postremo scribo manu mea, quod solus legas. Ita me Dominus ab omnibus tribulationibus liberet; quia non ab homine, neque per hominem, sed aperte mihi interdictum adverti. Cum enim essem sollicitus, ipsa nocte qua proficisci parabam, venisse quidem visus es ad Ecclesiam; sed mihi sacrificium offerre non licuit. Alia praetereo, ut potui cavere: sed pertuli amore tuo, ut arbitror. Dominus faciat ut omnia cum tranquillitate cedant. Multifarie Deus noster admonet, signis coelestibus, prophetarum praeceptis; visionibus etiam peccatorum vult nos intelligere; quo rogemus eum, ut perturbationes auferat, pacem vobis imperantibus servet, fides

11. This therefore I have written, not to confound you but that the examples of kings may incite you to take away this sin from your reign; and you will take it away by humbling your soul before God. You are man and temptation has come to you, conquer it. Sin is not taken away but by tears and penitence. Neither angel nor archangel can take it away. God himself, who alone can say: "I am with you," if we have sinned does not relent except for those who offer repentance.

12. I advise, I beg, I urge, I admonish, because it is to my sorrow that you who were an example of unheard of piety, who held the crown of mercy, who would not allow individual offenders to be endangered, do not grieve because so many innocent persons have perished. Though in war you have been most successful, though in other things also praiseworthy, still piety was always the apex of your good deeds. The devil envied you that which you possessed most prominently. Conquer him while you still have that by which you can conquer. Do not add another fault to your sin, with the result that you experience what has happened to many to experience.

13. I indeed, though among all others debtor to your piety, for which I cannot be ungrateful,—this piety I hold greater than that of many emperors, and make it equal to that of one (Gratian): I, I say, have no reason for obstinacy towards you, but I have cause for fear. I do not dare to offer the sacrifice if you intend to be present. Is that which is unlawful because of the blood of one innocent man lawful in the blood shedding of many? I think not.

14. Finally I am writing by my own hand something for you alone to read. Thus may the Lord deliver me from all tribulations, because I have observed that not by man, not through man, but plainly it has been forbidden me. For since I was anxious, on that very night in which I was preparing to go away, you seemed, in truth, to have come to the church, but I was not permitted to offer the sacrifice. I pass over other things, since I might have avoided them, but I bore them, as I think out of love for you. May the Lord cause all to turn out tranquilly. Our God warns us in many ways, by heavenly signs, by teachings of the prophets, even by visions of sinners he wishes us to understand. Wherefore let us beg Him to take away disturbances, preserve peace for you who

Ecclesiae et tranquillitas perseveret cui prodest christianos et pios esse imperatores.

15. Certe vis probari Deo. Omnis rei tempus, ut scriptum est: *Tempus, inquit, faciendi, Domine;* et: *Tempus beneplaciti Deus.* Tunc offeres, cum sacrificandi acceperis facultatem, quando hostia tua accepta sit Deo. Nonne me delectaret habere gratiam imperatoris, ut secundum voluntatem tuam agerem; si causa pateretur? Et simplex oratio sacrificium est: haec veniam refert, illa offensionem; quia haec habet humilitatem, illa contemtum: Dei enim vox est, quod malit ut fiat mandatum ejus, quam deferatur sacrificium. Clamat istud Deus, ad populum Moyses annuntiat, ad populos Paulus praedicat. Id facito quod intelligis in tempore plus facere. *Misericordiam,* inquit, *malo, quam sacrificium.* Quare non illi magis sint Christiani, qui peccatum condemnant suum, quam qui defendere putant? *Justus* enim *in exordio sermonis accusator est sui.* Qui se accusat cum peccaverit, justus est, non ille qui se laudaverit.

16. Utinam, Imperator, etiam ante mihi potius credidissem, quam consuetudini tuae. Cum puto quod cito ignoscis; cito revocas, ut saepe fecisti; et tu praeventus es, et ego non declinavi, quod cavere non debueram. Sed gratias Domino, qui vult servulos suos castigare, ne perdat. Istud mihi commune est cum prophetis, et tibi erit commune cum sanctis.

17. An ego Gratiani patrem, non oculis meis praeferam? Debent veniam sancta alia pignora tua. Dulce mihi nomen antetuli, quibus amorem communiter detuli. Amo, diligo, orationibus prosequor. Si credis, sequere; si, inquam, credis, agnosce quod dico: si non credis, ignosce quod facio, in quo Deum praefero. Beatissimus et florentissimus cum sanctis pignoribus fruaris tranquillitate perpetua, Imperator auguste.

rule, let the faith and tranquility of the Church remain steadfast, for which it is a benefit that emperors be Christians and devout.

15. Certainly you wish to be acceptable to God. For all things a time, as it is written. "A time," it says, "of doing, O Lord, and a time of Thy good pleasure, O God." Then you shall offer, when you receive opportunities of sacrificing, whenever your victim is acceptable to God. Would it not delight me to have the favor of the Emperor, that I might act according to your will, if the case permitted? Sincere prayer is sacrifice. This brings pardon; that offense; because this has humility; that, contempt. For it is the saying of God that he prefers that His commandments be fulfilled rather than sacrifice be offered. God declares this, Moses announces it to the people, Paul preaches it to the multitude. Do that which you perceive is of greater worth at the time. He says: "I prefer mercy rather than sacrifice." Wherefore will not those be Christians who condemn their sin rather than those who consider how to defend it? For the just is his own accuser in the beginning of his word." He who accuses himself when he has sinned is just; not he who has praised himself.

16. Would O Emperor, even before, I had trusted myself rather than your customary practice. While I consider that you quickly forgive, and you quickly retract as you have often done; and you have been prevented and I have not refused what I should not have avoided. But thanks be to God who wills to chastise his servants, that he may not lose them. I have that in common with the prophets, and you will have it in common with the saints.

17. Shall I not prefer the father of Gratian to my very life? Your other holy children owe me pardon. I place a name sweet to me before the names of those upon whom I have bestowed my love in common. I love, I cherish, I attend you with my prayers. If you believe me, follow my guidance; if, I say, you believe, understand what I say. If you do not believe me, forgive what I do; wherein I prefer God. Most happily and prosperously, august Emperor, with your holy children may you enjoy lasting peace.

APPENDIX II.

Extracts from the Theodosian Code

XVI, 10, 9 (385 Mai. 25).

(I)mppp. Val(entini)anvs, Theod(osivs) et Arcad(ivs) AAA. Cynegio P(raefecto) P(raetori)o. Ne quis mortalium ita faciendi sacrificii sumat audaciam ut inspectione iecoris extorumque praesagio vanae spem promissionis accipiat vel, quod est deterius, futura sub execrabili consultatione cognoscat. Acerbioris etenim inminebit supplicii cruciatus eis, qui contra vetitum praesentium vel futurarum rerum explorare temtaverint veritatem. Dat. VIII Kal. Iun. Constant(ino)p(oli) Arcadio A. I. et Bavtone V. C. Conss.

IIII, 4, 2 (389 Ian. 23).

Imppp. Valentin(ianvs), Theod(osivs) et Arcad(ivs) AAA. Proculo P(raefecto) V(rbi). Quae codicillis aut epistulis nobis necessitudinibusve nostris relinquuntur, non admittimus; sit ille usus inter privatos ratus. Et sane hoc loco praebemus licentiam, ut civiliter sive criminaliter, ut actor elegerit, super prolata epistula requiratur et incumbat probatio ei primitus, qui scripturam obtulerit. Ceterum quod ad nos nostrosque adtinet, codicillos et epistulas adeo refutamus, ut ex illis, etiamsi veras eas esse quaestionum series adprobarit, quidquid nobis relictum nostrisve constiterit, ad liberos defuncti vel, si hi non sint, ad proximum quemque iudicii nostri humanitate pertineat. Testamenti vero scripturam legitimam vel nuncupationem, quae in nomen nostrum forte processerit, iure capiemus, nec in ea re distare ius nostrum a privatis heredibus profitemur. Dat. X. Kal. Febr. Mediol(ano) Timasio et Promoto Conss.

II, 8, 19 (389 Aug. 7).

(I)mppp. Val(entini)anvs, Theod(osivs) et Arcad(ivs) AAA. Albino P(raefecto) V(rbi). Omnes dies iubemus esse (i)uridicos. Illos tantum manere feriarum dies fas erit, quos geminis mensibus ad requiem laboris indulgentior annus accepit, aestivis fervoribus mitigandis et autumnis fetibus decerpendis. Kalendarum quoque Ianuariarum consuetos dies otio mancipamus.

His adicimus natalicios dies urbium maximarum Romae atque Constantinopolis, quibus debent iura differri, quia et ab (i)psis nata sunt. Sacros quoque paschae dies, qui septeno vel praecedunt numero vel sequuntur, in eadem observatione numeramus, nec non et dies solis, qui repetito in se calculo revolvuntur. Parem necesse est habere reverentiam nostris etiam diebus, qui vel lucis auspicia vel ortus imperii (p)rotulerunt DAT. VII ID AVG. ROM(AE) TIMASIO ET PROMOTO CONSS.

XVI, 10, 11 (391 Iun. 16).

Idem AAA. EVAGRIO P(RAE)F(EC)TO AVGVSTALI ET ROMANO COM(ITI) AEG(YPTI). Nulli sacrificandi tribuatur potestas, nemo templa circumeat, nemo delubra suspiciat. Interclusos sibi nostrae legis obstaculo profanos aditus recognoscant adeo, ut, si qui vel de diis aliquid contra vetitum sacrisque molietur, nullis exuendum se indulgentiis recognoscat. Iudex quoque si quis tempore administrationis suae fretus privilegio potestatis polluta loca sacrilegus temerator intraverit, quindecim auri pondo, officium vero eius, nisi conlatis viribus obviarit, parem summam aerario nostro inferre cogatur. DAT. XVI KAL. IVL. AQVIL(EIAE) TATIANO ET SYMMACHO CONSS.

II, 8, 21 (392 Mai. 27).

(IDEM AAA. T)ATIANO P(RAEFECTO) P(RAETORI)O. Actus omnes seu publici seu privati diebus quindecim pas(c)halibus sequestrentur. DAT. VI K. IVN. CONST(ANTINO)P(OLI) ARCAD(IO) A. II ET RUF(INO) CONSS.

XI, 1, 23 (393 Iun. 12).

IMPPP. THEOD(OSIVS), ARCAD(IVS) ET HONOR(IVS) AAA. RVFINO P(RAEFECTO) P(RAETORI)O. Aerariae praestationis adiectio, quam citra priscam consuetudinem provincialium umeris Tatianus inposuit, a cunctis penitus salubri moderatione removenda est. DAT. PRID. ID. IUN. CONSTANTINOP(OLI) THEOD(OSIO) A. III ET ABVNDANTIO CONSS.

VIIII, 42, 12 (393 Iun. 12).

IDEM. AAA. RVFINO P(RAEFECTO) P(RAETORI)O. Omnia proscribtorum bona, quae fisco iusserat Tatianus adnecti, vel ipsis, qui propriam nuditatem, vel illis, qui suorum mortem in extrema po-

siti egestate lugent, sine dubitationis obstaculo reddi praecipimus. Dat. Prid. Id. Ivn. Constantinop(oli) Theod(osio) A. III et Abvndantio V. C. Conss.

VIIII, 42, 13 (393 Iun. 12).

Idem. AAA. Drepanio Com(iti) R(ervm) P(rivatarvm). Omnia proscribtorum bona, quae fisci nomine singulis quibusque Tatianus eripuit, vel ipsis, qui gladio acerbiorem stilum passi aerumnas suas nuditatemque fleverunt vel eorum filiis ac propinquis, qui cruentas excepere sententias restitui mox iubemus, ita ut omnes, qui aliquid ex huiusmodi bonis nostra liberalitate meruerunt, restituere indepta cogantur. Dat. Prid. Id. Ivn. Constantinop(oli) Theod(osio) A. III et Abvndantio Conss.

VIIII, 4, 1 (393 Aug. 9).

Imppp. Theod(osivs), Arcad(ivs) et Honor(ivs) AAA. Rufino P(raefecto) P(raetori)o. Si quis modestiae nescius et pudoris ignarus improbo petulantique maledicto nomina nostra crediderit lacessenda ac temulentia turbulentus obtrectator temporum fuerit, eum poenae nolumus subiugari neque durum aliquid nec asperum sustinere, quoniam si id ex levitate processit, contemnendum est, si ex insania, miseratione dignissimum, si ab iniuria, remittendum. Unde integris omnibus ad nostram scientiam referatur, ut ex personis hominum dicta pensemus et, utrum praetermitti an exequi rite debeat, censeamus. Dat. V. Id. Aug. Constantinop(oli) Theod(osio) A. III et Abvndantio V. C. Conss.

XI, 28, 2 (395 Mart. 24).

Impp. Arcad(ivs) et Honor(ivs) AA. Dextro P(raefecto) P(raetori)o. Quingenta viginti octo milia quadraginta duo iugera, quae Campania provincia iuxta inspectorum relationem et veterum monumenta chartarum in desertis et squalidis locis habere dinoscitur, isdem provincialibus concessimus et chartas superfluae discribtionis cremari censemus. Dat. VIIII Kal. April Med(iolano) Olybrio et Probino Conss.

XV, 14, 9 (395 Apr. 21).

Impp. Arcad(ivs) et Honor(ivs) AA. Dextro P(raefecto) fecto) V(rbi). Valeat omnis emancipatio tyrannicis facta tempo-

ribus; valeat a dominis concessa libertas; valeat celebrata et actis quibuslibet inserta donatio; valeat deficientium omne iudicium; valeat universa venditio; valeant sententiae iudicum privatorum —convelli enim iudicium non oportet—quos partium elegit adsensus et conpromissi poena constituit; valeant conceptae sollemniter pactiones; valeant scribturae, quibus aut fides rerum aut ratio probatur aut debitum; valeant apud quemlibet habitae spontaneae professiones; valeat deposita super instituenda lite testatio; valeat impetratio iuris communium liberorum; valeat procuratio scaevis mandata temporibus; datus tutor vel curator obtineat firmitatem; valeat in sponsam perfecta largitio; doli ac vis et metus inchoata actio in tempus legitimum perseveret; bonorum admissa possessio et adfectus adeundae hereditatis obtineat et interdicti beneficium non amittat; valeat in integrum restitutionis petitum auxilium; valeat vindicatio . . . identidem desiderata tribuatur; locatio et conductio inviolabilem obtineant firmitatem; interdicti beneficia tempora infausta non mutilent; postulata inofficiosi actio et inmodicarum donationum rescissio petita servetur; beneficia transacta non titubent; sacramento terminata permaneant; pignoris adque fiduciae obligatio perseveret. Stent denique omnia, quae in placitum sunt deducta, privatum, nisi aut circumscribtio subveniet aut vis aut terror ostenditur. Funestorum tantum consulum nomina iubemus aboleri, ita ut his reverentia in lectione recitantium tribuatur, qui tunc in Oriente annuos magistratus victuris perpetuo sunt fascibus auspicati; tempus vero ipsum, ac si non fuerit, aestimetur, si quidem tunc temporis omissa aliqua praescribtio taciturnitatis etiam de illis, quae confirmavimus, non possit obponi. Dat. XI Kal. Mai. Med(iolano) Olybrio et Probino Conss.

XV, 14, 10 (395 Apr. 26).

Idem AA. Evlogio C(omiti) R(ervm) P(rivatarvm). Qui tyranni Maximi secuti iussionem fundos perpetui iuris non ab ordinariis iudicibus, sed a rationalibus acceperunt, eorum amissione plectantur adque ad rem privatam denuo revertantur. Dat. VI Kal. Mai. Med(iolano) Olybrio et Probino Conss.

XV, 14, 11 (395 Mai. 18).

Idem AA. Andromacho P(raefecto) V(rbi). Fas est sequi

nos paternae dispositionis arbitrium adque ideo universos cuiuslibet ordinis viros, de quibus lex nostra reticuerat, ad veniam volumus pertinere et beneficia inopinantibus ultro deferimus, sancientes hac lege, ne is, qui tyranni tempore militavit vel etiam qualibet administratione donatus est aut honoraria dignitate perfunctus vel quicumque in aliquo honore diversis locis aut exactionibus praefuerunt, notam infamiae sustineant, aut deformi vocabulo polluantur. Quibus eas tantum dignitates valere decernimus, quas ante tyrannicum tempus habuerunt. Dat. XV Kal. Ivn. Med(iolano) Olybrio et Probino Conss.

XV, 14, 12 (395 Iun. 17).

Idem AA. Evsebio P(raefecto) P(raetori)o. His, quos tyrannici temporis labes specie dignitatis infecerat, inustae maculae omnem abolemus infamiam. Cunctis igitur statum priorem sine cuiusquam loci aut ordinis exceptione tribuimus, ut utantur omnes iure communi, teneant statum veteris dignitatis, ita ut nihil sibi ex his quos adepti fuerant honoribus blandiantur. Dat. XV Kal. Ivl. Med(iolano) Olybrio et Probino Conss.

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